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THE BRIDGE BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS

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THE BRIDGE BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS

A SURVEY OF THE
LIFE AND LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD
OF THE CONNECTIONS

BY

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AUTHOR OF
THE BACKGROUND OF THE BIBLE

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
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MENORAH

We've read in legends of the books of old
How deft Bezalel, wisest in his trade,
At the command of veiled Moses made
The seven-branched candlestick of beaten gold.
We know at least that on the templed rock
Of Zion hill, with earth's revolving hours
Under the changing centuries of heaven,
It stood upon the solemn altar block,
The holy light of Israel of the Lord.
The city fell, the temple was a heap;
But the great vision of the sevenfold flames
Outlasted the cups wherein at first it sprung.
The Greeks might teach the arts, the Romans law;
The heathen hordes might shout for bread and games;
Still Israel, exalted in the realms of awe,
Guarded the Light in many an alien air,
Along the borders of the midland sea
In hostile cities, spending praise and prayer
And pondering on the larger things that be.

—WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

PREFACE

As the reader of the Bible turns the page from Malachi to Matthew he has not only passed from the Old to the New Testament, a fact of which he is well aware, but he has also passed over a period of four centuries, a fact to which he gives scarcely a thought. Yet these four hundred years are not to be classed as is commonly done as "silent centuries," and remanded to oblivion as of no importance, for in a larger sense than is generally realized, they are the real sources for the true understanding of the thought and life of the New Testament. For the New Testament did not come directly out of the Old. While the setting of both is the Mediterranean world, the intellectual, social and religious backgrounds are radically different. That new atmosphere in which the New Testament was written is in large part the product of the period between the Testaments, and no amount of study of the Old Testament explains it. Nor does a survey of the contemporary life of the Roman era give us any explanation of scores of its phrases and ideas. There are then three main reasons why the study of this intermediate period is of value for a comprehension of the New Testament.

First, many of its customs and institutions can

only be understood in the light of the immediately preceding era. Synagogue, Sanhedrin, Pharisee, Scribe, Sadducee, the Tradition of the Elders —these are unexplainable by any study of the Old Testament or of contemporary history. All these came out of the years between the Testaments.

Second, the ideas of the New Testament came in large part not out of the Old Testament but the Period of the Connections. Sheol, Gehenna, Satan, demoniac possession, the angelic hierarchy, the immortality of the righteous, the infallibility of the Law, the supernatural coming and work of the Messiah—of these highly developed and popularly accepted concepts the Old Testament has scarcely a trace. They are the direct outgrowth of that transformation of mental outlook which took place in those four intermediate centuries.

Third, much of the language and phraseology of the New Testament is not derived from the Old Testament, but from the voluminous, remarkable, and widely popular literature produced in these four hundred years. While many verbal quotations from the Old Testament, as we well know, occur in gospel and epistle, yet when the New Testament writers seek to express their own thoughts it is in literary forms and language that came from these extra-canonical books. Out of these varied and vivid writings they draw copiously and constantly for their

verbiage. The recent book by George L. Hurst—"The Literary Background of the New Testament," to which the author of this volume is deeply indebted, gives most convincing proof of the familiarity of the authors of the New Testament with the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. For the pages of Dr. Hurst's scholarly book reveal in startling fashion that scores and scores of phrases of gospel and epistle read and repeated by us all a thousand times, are original not with Luke or John or Paul; but first were created by the authors of the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, or some other of those long-forgotten and neglected books of this age before the gospels.

It is then surely unfortunate for the Bible student that he has so long passed by the life and literature of this intermediate era, which, in a very real sense, constitutes the bridge between the Testaments by which we pass over from Old to New.

But entirely aside from these its obvious values for Biblical knowledge, this era is well worth study for its own sake. It was not a time of stagnation and passivity, devoid of interest or charm. The Judaism of this era was vividly, passionately alive. These four centuries are replete with stirring events and picturesque and intriguing episodes. World heroes and petty tyrants stalk across the stage. Heroic exploits, base treacheries, noble

movements, petty intrigues, follow each other in bewildering variety. Empires rise and fall; kings and generals come and go. Swift and kaleidoscopic changes in life, sweeping and profound revolutions in thought take place. It is a moving panorama of men and events that passes before our eyes. Poet and historian, priest and prophet, story teller and philosopher, record the thoughts and hopes, the dreams and passions of the era. These are no "silent centuries," they are vocal with the echo of fears, faiths, loves, hates, sorrows, aspirations of real throbbing human life. No epoch in all history is more fascinating and romantic than this Period of the Connections.

It is with the purpose of bringing these centuries out of their oblivion and making them live again, of filling in the void in popular knowledge of the Bible which their neglect has created, that this book has been written. And it is hoped that it may not only throw new light on the Book of Books, but may also prove of delight and interest to the reader as it unfolds the story of an almost unknown age in human history and reveals its romance and charm.

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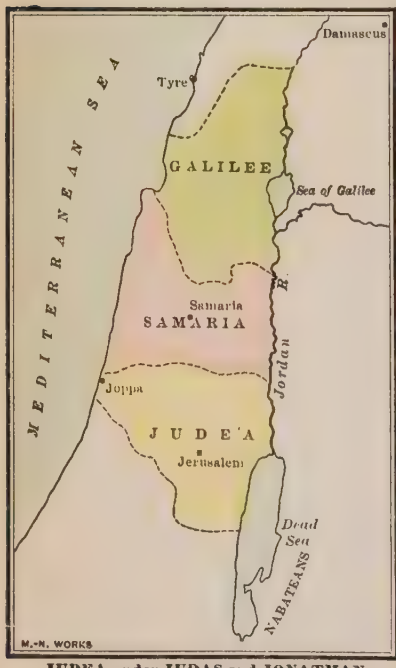
Western Asia in the time of ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, 176-164 B.C.



JUDEA under JUDAS and JONATHAN
164-142 B.C.

JUDEA under ALEXANDER JANNAEUS
104-78 B.C.

CHAPTER I

FOUR FORGOTTEN CENTURIES

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FOUR FORGOTTEN CENTURIES

THE Old Testament history closes with the restoration of the Hebrew commonwealth narrated in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Between this epoch and the birth of Jesus lies an interval of about four hundred years, of which there is no record in our Protestant Bible. This period has sometimes been termed "The Silent Centuries" because the idea has commonly prevailed that no divine voice was heard and no revelation vouchsafed in this intermediate era. So oblivion has descended upon these years, and the Bible student, fully familiar with the events and backgrounds of both Old and New Testament, has not considered the study of this period of any real importance to his knowledge of the Book of Books.

Yet no idea could be more erroneous. For these four forgotten centuries are replete with stirring events, heroic achievements, picturesque personalities, significant movements, and vocal with vivid narratives, charming stories, great sayings and noble dreams. God was still at work within Israel preparing for the advent of His Son. To know this era is vital to the understanding of Jesus and his times. And the first step toward the comprehension of this interbiblical

period is an historical survey of these four hundred years of Judaism.

I. The Restoration of Jerusalem (444–332 B. C.)

The Exile, by which the Hebrews were transported to the Kingdom of the Two Rivers, seemed to these poor expatriates to be an unmixed tragedy; and out of those dark days there comes to us their sorrow and homesickness in that famous lament:

> "By the waters of Babylon
> There we sat down and wept
> When we remembered Zion
> For there they that led us captives
> Required of us songs, saying,
> 'Sing us one of the songs of Zion.'
> How shall we sing Jehovah's song
> In a foreign land?" (Psalms 137.)

But in the providence of God it was a time in which their insularity was to give place to cosmopolitanism, and the peculiar religious genius of that elect race was to find creative expression. Such a glorious rhapsody of spiritual power as Second Isaiah, which was written in that exile, gives evidence of how Jehovah was using that time of limitation and introspection to expand the narrow religion of the monarchy into a larger faith.

No less strangely providential was that sud-

den turn in world history which overthrew the Babylonian oppressor to give to Persia the mastery of the East. The middle of the sixth century brought to its throne the noble sovereign, Cyrus; whose tolerance and magnanimity, in such striking contrast to the barbarism of that day, make him one of the greatest characters of ancient history. One of his first acts was not only to give permission but specific direction to the Jews in Babylonia to return and rebuild their national sanctuary; even appointing a royal officer to assist them in the undertaking. It is small wonder that such an act of generosity gave rise to that amazing chapter in Isaiah, in which this sovereign of a heathen kingdom, under whose sway they had fallen, is described as Cyrus, the "anointed one" and "shepherd" of *Jehovah!* (Isaiah 44:28; 45:1). Encouraged and emboldened by this unprecedented royal favor, the Jews returned to the ruined city of Jerusalem; and, under the exhortations of Haggai and the visions of Zechariah, the Second Temple was built. It may not have been architecturally imposing, but it was of untold importance to the Jewish people; for it made Jerusalem again the focus of their prayers, and revived hopes for a complete restoration of Israel.

At this critical juncture, Ezra, a famous and learned scribe of Babylon, who had helped there in the "Great Synagogue" to elaborate and crys-

tallize the tenets and standards of traditional Hebrew religion, came up to Jerusalem in a pilgrimage to make Mount Zion again not only the site of the Temple, but also the center and rallying-place of the pure Hebrew faith. Finding laxness in many religious observances, particularly in the matter of marriage with foreigners, he promulgated and carried through drastic and far-reaching reforms. He had hoped to go on to complete the sorely-needed rebuilding of the defenses of Jerusalem, but his enemies at court secured restraining edicts from the Persian monarch; and Ezra's reforms were halted and his ambitious plans thwarted.

At the court of Artaxerxes was a Jew who held a position of high honor, to whom came the story of the plight of Judaism in Jerusalem. The romantic narrative of this royal cup-bearer's finesse and shrewdness in his dealings with the king; his sacrifice of a place of ease for one of hardship, his large capacity for affairs, his heroism, patience and piety make Nehemiah one of the most attractive characters of the Bible. The familiar story of the way in which under his able leadership the walls were rebuilt, the government of the city reorganized, and social reforms consummated, is one of which we never tire. And he not only rebuilt a wall, he created a new sense of nationalism among his people, a self-respect, and a real enthusiasm for the future.

The way was now made ready for Ezra to complete his work; and at a great assembly he read to the spellbound people for hours the well-nigh forgotten Law, while waves of emotion swept over the multitude. And at the close of the day a solemn covenant was made in which the people dedicated themselves anew to God's service and pledged obedience to the new standards of custom and ceremony that Ezra had set up. That day marked the establishment of Judaism on the basis of what is now called the Priestly Code, that system of ordinances and ceremonies found in the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

Henceforth they were to live under the dominion of a written law, which centered in the Temple, and whose ritual was to be celebrated by the priesthood. To the people it was a time of religious enthusiasm; and in the services of the Temple, stately and dignified, they found a solemn joy. Many of the later Psalms were written by the poets of Israel for use as hymns and anthems in their Temple worship. And though the regulations of this ceremonial law were so elaborate that they might well have seemed burdensome, yet to the Jew of this epoch obedience was a privilege and observance a pleasure, and he could sing:

> "O how I love thy law,
> It is my meditation all the day.

I will delight myself in thy commandments,
Which I have loved.
Thy statutes have been my songs
In the house of my pilgrimage."
(Psalms 119.)

From this time onward idolatry ceases to be a problem in Israel. Monotheism became the very breath of life to the true Jew, and Jehovah was his all in all. And in these four centuries which followed, which form the theme of this volume, while we shall find much to condemn, yet let us remember that the Judaism which Nehemiah and Ezra established was the shell which protected the essential religion of the Hebrew race from destruction amid the fiery trials through which the Jewish people passed. All through those years with their formalism and fanaticism, that flame of the pure faith was kept alive in the hearts of those saints and mystics who lived with and loved that sacred Law, and who were the precursors of that little band of pious souls who stand at the threshold of our New Testament eagerly "looking for the consolation of Israel."

The succeeding century (400–300 B. C.) was marked by the completion of the Pentateuch, "The Law," revered as coming from Moses and as sacrosanct; the increasing observance of Sabbaths and feasts and sacrifices; the elaboration of the ritual and the organization

into guilds of the priests and Levites as its celebrants; the rise of the Scribes, as interpreters of the Law, to rank with the priesthood; and an almost utter absorption of the energies of Judaism in ceremony and ritualism. Priest and scribe came to be the dominant figures in the Israel of this era.

II. Alexander and the Dispersion (332–301 B. C.)

The meteoric rise of Alexander and his brilliant campaign of conquest marked the passing of the scepter of world power into the hands of Greece. That brief career of military prowess which gave him rule over the world was succeeded by an equally wonderful program of governmental genius, which contemplated nothing less than the unification of the Mediterranean world into a vast empire with real social coherence, and its infusion with the culture and spirit of Greece. His untimely death brought a sudden end to his ideal of a unified world bound together by justice; but his hope of a Hellenized world, touched and transformed by the genius of Greece, was fulfilled far beyond his wildest dreams. For that lambent, winged ethereal spirit of Greece has interfused all civilization, and to it even we moderns owe far more than we realize. More potent than Macedonian spears was the force of Attic culture. For in those centuries that followed

Alexander's death, while his political kingdom vanished with his dying breath; the Greek language, Greek art, Greek literature, Greek customs, Greek ideas, achieved with amazing swiftness a real and enduring sovereignty over the mind and life of the whole ancient world.

Alexander's conquest of Asia brought the Jewish race under Greek rule. But it also marked the dawn of a new era for Judaism, the beginning of that great movement known as "The Dispersion" (I Peter 1:1; James 1:1). The Jews were at this time living in two areas, in Palestine and Babylonia; by far the larger number dwelling in the land of the Exile. Alexander created all around the Mediterranean scores of new Greek cities, and these were thrown open to Jewish colonists. And such inducements and privileges were offered that great hosts of the Jews, lured on by the promise of freedom and fortune, swarmed at once into these cities to form the so-called "Dispersion," a movement fraught with vast consequences for Judaism and the world.

III. Between Two Fires (301–176 B. C.)

Alexander's empire was rent to pieces at his death by his quarrelling generals. Finally the contest settled down into a struggle for mastery between the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria. The decisive battle of Ipsus in

301 B. C. ended in the division of Western Asia between the two rival powers; the Ptolemies holding Egypt and the Seleucids the rest of Asia. Palestine, lying as it did between the two empires, was awarded to Egypt. The Ptolemies were kindly rulers and the Jews enjoyed many favors under their reign.

But Palestine was so close to Syria, being virtually a part of it, and moreover being also the natural gateway to Egypt, that Syria was not content and coveted its control. Again and again during the third century B. C. the Syrians sought to wrest the land from Egypt, and between these contending forces the inhabitants of Palestine were truly between two fires, and suffered much in consequence. Finally Antiochus of Syria, a truly great military genius, descended on Jerusalem and took control of the country in 198 B. C. His ambitious plans of further conquest which contemplated the seizure of Egypt, were ended by the intervention of Rome, which by a series of campaigns ended both his career and his life.

IV. The Syrian Tyranny (176–143 B. C.).

The accession of Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) to the Syrian throne marked a dark day for the Jewish subjects of Syria. The change from the benignant rule of the Ptolemies to the sway of Syria had already been signalized by harsh government and increasing taxation under Syrian

officials; but worse was to come. The new king was at first absorbed in a gigantic plot to weld all the Greek-speaking peoples into a vast Pan-Hellenic federation and overthrow the power of Rome. And part of the plan was the Hellenization of all subject peoples, notably the Jews, for whom he cherished an unreasoning hate. They were to be compelled to adopt Greek culture and accept Greek religion.

But Rome intervened again in the East, and crushed this vaunting ambition of the Syrian monarch with an iron hand. This thwarting of his desires seems to have made this despotic and capricious tyrant insane with wrath. And as at this juncture a rebellion against some of his appointed officials in Jerusalem had broken out, he instantly seized the pretext to vent his wrath and wreak vengeance on this hated race by compelling their obedience to his decrees at the point of the sword. So he swept down with his army upon the fated city.

He broke down the defenses of Jerusalem, slaughtered thousands of the people in the streets, and pillaged the Temple of its treasures —the golden altar and candlesticks and cups. All sacrifices and services, Sabbath observance and every Jewish rite were prohibited on pain of death. Copies of the Scriptures were sought out and burned. A small altar to Olympian Zeus was set up on the sacred altar of burnt offering, and as the crowning insult to Jeho-

vah, swine were sacrificed on the altar in the name of Zeus. It is that awful sacrilege to which the Book of Daniel refers as "the abomination of desolation." It revealed clearly Antiochus' relentless determination to destroy the Jewish religion, root and branch. Nor was this all. The people were compelled to eat swine's flesh. Bacchanalian processions replaced the Jewish feasts, and old and reverend Jews with wreaths upon their heads were compelled to join in their dances.

Something of the despair and terror of those dark days is reflected in the Maccabean psalms (74, 79, 44, 83) with their anguished refrains —"O God, why hast thou cast us off in thine anger?" "How long wilt thou be angry against thy people?" "Our soul is bowed down to the dust." And the whole story is told with moving power in the pages of Josephus and the Book of Maccabees. So relentless, senseless, and baseless were these increasing cruelties of Antiochus, that the inhabitants of Antioch, who seem to have ever possessed a scurrilous wit, changed his surname from "Epiphanes" (God revealing) to the nickname of "Epimanes" (madman). But none dared to raise a hand, and the reign of terror went on. Some there were that weakly yielded, and became apostates to the Hebrew faith. But there were others who defied him, and by rack and scourge and stake were translated into the New Jerusalem above.

And the traditions of these first great martyrs of religion, as told by later Judaism, stir one's soul as he reads. Yet futile and impotent seemed the protest of these few heroic souls; and the mad king went his way of cruelty and bloodshed, until it seemed as though Judaism were about to be stamped out and the religion of Jehovah swept away.

Out of this tragic time there comes to us one of the most debated books of our Old Testament—the Book of Daniel. It is the first example of that strange type of Jewish literature called apocalypse. As we have the book to-day it is clearly divided into two main parts: the first (chaps. 1–6) being in narrative form, and the second (chaps. 7–12) a series of visions. And our modern study of this book has shown beyond reasonable doubt that it was a "tract for the times," written to strengthen the Jews in this hour of trial and help them to obey God rather than men. Both parts of the book clearly focus upon this darkest hour in Hebrew history, and are a challenge to loyalty and a prophecy of the triumph of faith in God. One cannot over-estimate the value of this book to the faithful Jews battling against such fearful odds. With a wonderful cleverness of method, by means of parable and symbol, utterly meaning-

less to a Syrian official, but clear as day to the Jewish reader, the author sets forth his thesis, that *Antiochus* has been "weighed in the balance and found wanting," and that a fiery finger has indeed written his doom upon the wall of history.

The first part of the book is not (as it has often been interpreted) a narrative of actual events, but is a piece of fiction (based perhaps upon some slight historical foundation), a series of stories or parables, laid in the Babylonian Exile, showing how Daniel and his friends under persecution were rewarded for their fidelity to God; while divine retribution fell upon their persecutors. This cycle of stories might well be called—"A Romance of the Triumph of Faith." And every detail fits these times of the Antiochean persecution. The first story shows the successful defiance of the Babylonian king's decree to eat unlawful food. Just such demands (as we have seen) were being enforced by Antiochus. The second story tells how a golden image of the Babylonian king was set up, and worship demanded; and how the three Jews escaped from the ordeal which was imposed for their refusal to worship. Antiochus likewise had not only assumed the title Epiphanes, which on his coins is enlarged to "Theos Epiphanes" (God made manifest); but when he occupied Jerusalem he set up his own image in the Temple, and demanded its wor-

ship. The last story narrates the sacrilegious revelry of Belshazzar, and his awful punishment. So Antiochus had plundered the Temple, and celebrated his impious act by an orgy of feasting and sensual excesses at Daphne. It is obvious that all these stories are clearly adapted to fit the elements of the persecution of Antiochus; and the portrayal they give of divine intervention and judgment on the persecutors of the past was intended to strengthen the resistance of Judaism to the Syrian king.

The second part of the book is a series of four visions, describing under the figures of beasts the successive world-empires of the past, purporting to have been seen by the Daniel of the Exile. And each vision clearly culminates in a description of the tyrannical reign of Antiochus, becoming clearer and more detailed as it describes that era. Thus, for example, in the "Vision of the Four Beasts" (chap. 7), the lion is the Babylonian Empire; the bear, the Median; the leopard, the Persian; the fourth, a mythical monster with ten horns, the Syrian Empire, the ten horns being the ten Seleucid kings. The eleventh horn is, of course, Antiochus, the eleventh king of the dynasty; and at this point the description becomes more detailed and climaxes in the prophecy of doom and divine judgment. In similar fashion each vision culminates in the Antiochean persecution, and predicts the overthrow of his kingdom, the

establishment of God's kingdom and the reward of the faithful. So interpreted, the Book of Daniel is no longer a cryptic volume, puzzling and meaningless, but reveals itself as a really great book, written for this crisis by a literary genius, whose circulation among the despairing Hebrews did much to save Judaism from complete destruction in this hour of its greatest peril.

In this terrible crisis, when hope was almost gone, and the loyal Jews were fighting with their backs against the wall, that word of Isaiah "not by might or by power but by my Spirit" was seemingly fulfilled. God had not deserted his people, and help came from an unexpected source. The God-defying tyrant overreached himself. In a desperate campaign of extermination, he sent his officers out into the deserts and the mountains to ferret out the Jews who had fled Jerusalem, and compel them to bow the knee to him.

Now in the little village of Modein, some twenty miles north of Jerusalem, lived an aged priest, Mattathias, with his five stalwart sons. Simon, the eldest, was wise and kind; Judas, a natural warrior; Jonathan, a shrewd diplomatist—as later history was to reveal. Into Modein came the Syrian officers and to the house

of Mattathias, demanding that he sacrifice upon the altar to the Greek gods. Upon his defiant refusal, a renegade Jew stepped forward to desecrate the altar by a heathen sacrifice. The old man's eyes blazed with wrath, he snatched a sword from the wall, slew the Jew upon the altar steps, struck down the Syrian officer and raised the standard of revolt. The story of this daring act spread like wildfire through all the countryside, and put new heart into the despairing people. To Mattathias and his sons in the fastnesses of the wilderness above the Dead Sea, thousands rallied to the defense of their faith. Down through the country in scattered bands they went, destroying heathen altars and restoring Jewish rites. And when Mattathias died within the year, he wisely gave the conduct of the new movement for freedom and faith into the hands of his son Judas.

With Judas now begins one of the most thrilling stories of all time. Possessed of remarkable military genius as well as a profound faith in God, he began a series of exploits unmatched in the world's history for shrewd strategy and inspired audacity. Knowing his own country thoroughly, he chose battlegrounds where he could surprise his foes. He defeated in succession two armies sent against him, surprising the second army in the steep pass of Bethhoron. Angry and determined, Antiochus despatched a huge army that outnumbered

Judas ten to one. With desperate valor Judas and his devoted band, inspired with religious zeal like Cromwell's "Ironsides," threw themselves upon the enemy, singing the national anthem, the 136th Psalm. The Syrian army broke and fled in panic. Laden with spoil and delirious with joy, the army of Judas entered Jerusalem, and tore down the heathen altar, restored the profaned Temple, and in a solemn service of dedication, the worship of Jehovah was restored on December 25, 165 B. C., just three years after the desecration by Antiochus. Each year thereafter, the memory of this great event has been kept through the centuries by Judaism in the Feast of Lights or Dedication. These wonderful victories, by which so swiftly Judas had subdued the enemies of Israel, restored his people to Jerusalem and inaugurated a period of independence, earned for him the surname "Maccabeus" or "the hammer," and the era he inaugurated is known as the Maccabean Era.

The next four years were spent by Judas in reconquering the old kingdom of David and in building up his nation. Not only did he restore the national life, and kindle new fires of patriotism in his people, but he also restored the ancient religion as well. In this latter task he was aided greatly by a group called the "Hasidim" or "pious," who rallied around Judas in his endeavor to check heathenism and

restore the pure Hebrew faith. In later years they became estranged from the Maccabees who had become not only kings but priests; so from this united church and state they withdrew, and so received the name of "Perushim" or "Separatists," the "Pharisees" of the later pre-Christian and New Testament times.

V. The New Jerusalem (143–63 B. C.)

New attacks of Syria on the little Jewish state led to renewed energy on Judas' part, but in a final battle against superhuman odds at Eleasa he fell upon the battlefield, ending a career of nobility, courage, and patriotism that has made him forever an example and inspiration to Israel. He lifted his people out of degradation to self-respect, and gave them a new hope and a renewed life. He rightly ranks among the immortals of history.

To him succeeded his brothers, Jonathan and Simon, and, under the latter, prosperity and peace came to Jerusalem. He rebuilt and fortified the city, and concluded a solemn treaty with Rome, renewing a pact already made by Judas. A kindly and beneficent ruler, Simon was a real father to his people. He was called "Simon the Righteous" and in later generations was canonized for his piety. Of him as he exercised his high-priestly functions, the author of Ecclesiasticus sings:

"How glorious he when the people gathered round him
At his coming out of the sanctuary!
He was as the morning-star in the midst of a cloud
And as the moon at the full." (Ecclus. 50:5.)

Under his son and successor, John Hyrcanus, with some reverses at first, prosperity and power were increased. And to him were ascribed the qualities of Messiah in a noble hymn:

"And after these things shall rise the star of peace
And shall walk with men in righteousness
And the heavens shall be opened unto him
And the blessings of God shall be poured down."
(Test. of Judah 24:1–2.)

So this era of a half century (143–105 B. C.) was to the popular mind the Golden Age of the New Jerusalem. Hyrcanus extended the kingdom to the limits of the old Davidic empire. One of his acts was the conquest of Samaria, and the destruction of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. But the rivalry of the two sanctuaries was not ended and its echoes follow us into New Testament times (John 4: 20–21). He also strengthened and adorned Jerusalem.

His reign was also marked by the emergence of the three Jewish parties: Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The Pharisees were not so

much a political as a religious group, and were primarily interested in obedience to the Law. This group won the following of the masses of Israel. The Sadducees were a group of wealthy men, the hereditary priesthood, worldly-minded, and autocratic. They welcomed Hellenic culture and were natural diplomats. Their interest was in politics rather than religion. The Essenes were a monastic and mystical group, small in numbers, living in communities near the Dead Sea, and giving their lives over to good works and philanthropy. They closely resembled the early Franciscan order of the Middle Ages. During the last days of Hyrcanus, the Pharisees and Sadducees began their long and bitter rivalry.

The succeeding years of the period of Jewish Independence were not happy. The later Maccabees were men of lesser mould. The Jews were their own worst enemies and the kingdom was rent by internal dissensions. The reigns of Aristobulus and Alexander Jannæus were times of despotic acts, of sectarian rivalries and of extravagant wastefulness. Under Jannæus one event of great importance took place, the formation of the Sanhedrin; the name and form of organization of this ecclesiastical hierarchy being adapted from Greek models. In this body the Pharisees and Sadducees sat together in council.

On Jannæus's death his wife, Alexandra, suc-

ceeded to the throne. She gave such favors to the Pharisees that they became the ruling party, but ruled with such harshness, insolence, and fanaticism that their high-handed tyranny led to revolt and chaos, which darkened the last days of the queen's reign.

VI. Under the Roman Eagles (63–37 B. C.)

On her death her sons, Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, engaged in a desperate struggle for the throne, and in the civil war that followed, Rome took a hand. Pompey, who was campaigning in Syria, intervened in favor of Hyrcanus, and took Aristobulus away to Rome to grace his triumph. When Pompey entered Jerusalem with his legions, and seized the Temple, tradition tells us that he strode through its courts until he stood before the curtain of the Holy of Holies. Familiar with heathen temples and their great statues of the Roman and Greek gods, he drew back the curtain, expecting to see a glorious divine image, and stood on the threshold transfixed with amazement when he beheld—nothing! His mind had never grasped the Jewish concept of an unseen God.

This Roman settlement of the schisms in the Jewish state by the capture of the city brought to a sudden and shameful end the era of Jew-

ish Independence under the Maccabees. From that hour to this the Jew has been a man without a country or a flag.

This century of Jewish Independence is full of contrasts: treachery and patriotism, impiety and religious passion, cowardice and heroism. But it did develop a sense of racial unity and a faith in a greater future. If Judaism could triumph so gloriously over its enemies under the Maccabees, God might raise up yet another Judas to restore again the kingdom of Israel; and for a time Messianic prophecy made Maccabeus rather than David its prototype. For at least a few years the restored Jerusalem had been the focus of the thoughts and prayers of world-Judaism; and this meant much for the intensifying of religious faith.

The next quarter century under the nominal rule of Hyrcanus, as an appointee of Rome, was a time of turmoil and factionalism. And at this juncture arose Antipater of Idumea, the evil genius of Judaism, who cunningly used its weaknesses and dissensions as a means to make himself more powerful. Craftily he played Roman off against Jew, and each time gained larger influence.

Then came the struggle for supremacy within the Roman Empire between Pompey and Julius Cæsar, which ended at Pharsalia (48 B. C.) in Cæsar's victory. The result in Syria of this change at Rome was the appointment

by Cæsar of Herod and Phasæl as governors of Galilee and Jerusalem. And through Antipater's genius for intrigue even the assassination of Cæsar still left the Idumeans in full control of Palestine. Two years later, on Antipater's death, after a stormy career of war, exile, craft, and audacity we find Herod finally seated on the throne as King of the Jews in 37 B. C.

Herod the Great was worthy of the name. A fine soldier, a skilled administrator, and a great builder, he transformed all Palestine during his reign; creating a unified kingdom, building roads, aqueducts, forts, cities, and palaces; and leaving as his greatest memorial the magnificent Temple, which was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. But the splendor of his reign was marred by his cruelty, suspicious jealousy and murderous rage, and he has left behind him an ignoble fame.

His death in 4 B. C. brings us to the threshold of the New Testament, and the events of the succeeding reigns of his sons, Archelaus Philip and Herod Antipas, are too familiar to need any comment here. So with the close of this Herodian rule in Palestine in 44 A. D. we end this brief historical survey of the period between the Testaments.

CHAPTER II

IN MOSES' SEAT

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I. Eastern Judaism

THE Babylonian Exile is the watershed of Old Testament history. It marked the end of the Jewish Commonwealth and of Jewish nationalism, save for that brief episode of the Maccabean age. But surveying Hebrew history in the large, the general statement may be made, that from that dark hour in 586 B. C. when Jerusalem fell before the Babylonian invader the Jews have been a people without a state, wanderers on the face of the earth. And with that event began their spread over the ancient world until they girdled the Great Sea with their colonies. There were two foci about which the Jews outside of Palestine centered themselves—Babylon, the center of the Jews of the East, and Alexandria, the center of the Jews of the West. Such great differences came to exist between Eastern and Western Judaism, that it is of importance to examine in some detail the life and thought of each division of Judaism, and this chapter will discuss that Eastern Judaism that centered in Babylon.

It is noteworthy, first of all, that while under

the favorable Persian rule all the Jews were permitted to return to the homeland, only a handful availed themselves of the privilege; and at the most not more than fifty thousand went back. The vast majority remained in Babylon; and not only so, but these permanent exiles were the wealthiest and most influential Jews. Opportunities for fortune and culture were all about them in the land of the Euphrates and Tigris, so why should they return to their impoverished homeland? And in the centuries that followed the Exile they not only filled Babylonia, but swarmed out into the great East. Northward they pushed to the shores of the Black Sea and the Caspian. Southward they penetrated to the Persian Gulf and their colonies filled the oases of Arabia. Eastward they travelled onward even into mysterious India. As index of this Eastern migration reference is made in the Talmud to the Jews of Arabia and India. And the modern archæologist ever finds pottery and inscriptions of Jewish origin scattered over this whole great area. It is interesting to note in passing that it was somewhere amid the Jewish colonies of Arabia that Paul spent those three preparatory years (Galatians 1:17). The Jews of the East literally numbered millions, as Josephus and Philo both record; and of this vast population the city of Babylon was the cultural and religious center.

Nor was this strange. For Babylon was the

cradle of culture. There for three millenniums a civilization (which archeology has uncovered to our view) had flourished at a height of cultural achievement well-nigh unbelievable. Vast libraries have come to light revealing profound knowledge of science, law, philosophy, medicine, mathematics. It was a land of books and of learning, and the very atmosphere of Babylon was charged with intellectual power. No wonder that the Jewish dweller in Babylon was impelled to become himself a man of culture and that the Jews of Babylon became the intellectual leaders of their people.

But the first effect of their Babylonian residence was increase in wealth. With that business acumen which seems to be the birthright of the race, many of the Jews of Babylon became merchant-princes. Their caravans, laden with spices and silks and carpets, connected with their own fleets of ships anchored in the ports of Phœnicia and Syria, which then transported their goods to every part of the Mediterranean world. They had two fortified treasure cities, guarded by armed men,—Neharda and Nisibis, where their hoarded wealth was stored as in huge banks. And the very fact that such vast wealth could not only be amassed but thus safely stored amid an alien people shows the numbers and influence of Judaism in Babylonia. This influence was enhanced by their strong racial exclusiveness and unity, for they thus be-

came a formidable political factor in the affairs of the East.

But the thoughts and sentiments of this scattered mass of Eastern Jews still centered in Jerusalem. That phrase in the Book of Daniel about his daily prayer "with his windows open toward Jerusalem" was descriptive of the spiritual attitude of these millions of Hebrews in the great East. As the worshipper of Islam faces toward Mecca so the Jew turned toward Jerusalem. And that fragment from the poetry of the Exile voices this deathless devotion of the Hebrew heart to this shrine of his faith:

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her skill,
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,
If I remember thee not,
If I prefer not Jerusalem
Above my chief joy."

The relation in this era between Babylon and Jerusalem was very close. Only an eight-days' journey separated the two cities; but the spiritual was closer than the geographical bond. For the priestly hierarchy in Palestine and the Rabbinical oligarchy in Babylon were in closest connection. They maintained a constant correspondence. The hours of the feasts and fasts of the Jewish calendar as they were celebrated in Jerusalem were telegraphed to Babylon by fire-signals from mountain-top to mountain-

top. Palestinian and Babylonian Judaism maintained a practical identity of thought and life.

By one of the strange processes of history, in time the spiritual supremacy ultimately passed from Jerusalem to Babylon. For, first of all, the Babylonian Jews claimed a purer descent and a more undiluted Judaism than their brethren of Palestine. Their genealogies had been kept with the most meticulous accuracy, and were so complete and voluminous that, as their leaders claimed, if put together they would have made many hundred camel-loads. And in the next place the Hebrew language gradually came into disuse all over the Eastern world, and both in Babylonia and Palestine gave place to Aramaic. But it was among the scholars of Babylon that the ancient sacred Hebrew was retained in its flawless purity. And last of all the wealth and leisure of the Babylonian Jews, coupled with the stimulus of the literary atmosphere of Babylon, soon made them the greatest Hebrew scholars in Judaism. Here lived and worked the greatest Hebrew theologians, and about them grew up many theological schools and seminaries. The prestige created by the fact that it was Ezra the Babylonian who gave their lost religion back to the Jews of Palestine, was never lost, and the later Babylonian Jews made the proud boast in their Talmud: "When the Law had fallen into oblivion, it was restored by Ezra of Babylon; when it was a second time forgot-

ten, Hillel the Babylonian came and recovered it; and when yet a third time it was lost, Rabbi Chiza came from Babylon and gave it back once more." Such traditions of scholarship are amply supported by the facts. For it was in Babylon rather than Jerusalem, that, in the closing centuries of the period between the Testaments, the theology and religious practices of the Jewish people in New Testament Times were created.

II. The Scribes

The most influential and important group of leaders in Babylonian Judaism was that of the Scribes. They seem to have existed from the early days of the monarchy (II Chron. 34:13) as laymen, who, along with the priesthood, were custodians and teachers of the Pentateuchal law. When the Exile came and the Temple was destroyed, this group came to an equality with the priests, whose functions for a time were abated. And, in the opening years of the Exile, they devoted themselves to the gathering together and preservation of the laws and ceremonies of earlier Judaism, seeing that this was vital to the perpetuation of the Hebrew religion. And from among this group Ezra emerges as the Scribe *par excellence.* In the following centuries we find the scribes both in Palestine and Babylonia, but it was in the latter place that they reached their highest development and influence.

(1) *As Scholars.*

One of their first functions was that of copyists and editors of the letter of the Pentateuchal law. They were skilled professional bookmen, and to them is ascribed the change of the archaic Hebrew alphabet to the later square characters. Later they continued as editorial revisers, correcting, combining and harmonizing the text of the law. This scholarly task was soon expanded to include the interpretation and exposition of the text. Then as many unwritten legal traditions grew up they became also their custodians and interpreters. And as changes in environment and life created many problems for which there was no precept either in the written or the oral law, by means of an exegesis which was often artificial, the scribe deduced a rule to fit these new cases; and these naturally crystallized into a code. Nor was this all. Not satisfied with creating new laws by such exposition to meet actual cases, they busied themselves in devising ordinances for every conceivable case that might occur, thus "putting a hedge about the Law," and guarding against any possible infraction. Thus from being merely interpreters of the law, they became themselves legislators. And this process went on for centuries, until these collected laws, interpretations, traditions, precedents and decrees of the scribes were finally collected in what was known as the Mishna. The chief interest of all these scribal activities was in sacrifices,

purifications, foods, tithes, and the ceremonial aspects of the Law. For its ethical elements they showed but little concern.

(2) *As Teachers.*

The second function of the scribes was that of teachers. The fame of their scholarship gathered about them earnest and studious young men, whom they trained in the memorization and repetition of the written and oral law, much as the so-called Mohammedan colleges of today (like Al Azhar in Cairo) train their students to repeat the Koran. And this they sternly insisted must be absolute and literal memorization. The acme of scholarship was, to use a Talmudic phrase, for the student to be "like a well-plastered cistern from which not a drop could be lost." The students also listened attentively to the discussion by their teachers of legal cases and possible precedents. All this was conducted in academies connected with the synagogues. The teachers sat on a raised dais, the scholars on the ground (Acts 22:3). Upon the scribes in this capacity during the first century B. C. the title of "Rabbi" ("Master") was conferred; and this word gave to this group and all their literary and religious activities the term "Rabbinic." In these academies the scribes also turned their attention from the legal to the historic and didactic content of the Scripture, which they elaborated, amplified and embellished with legends, allegories, and parables, usually centering around some great

personage of the past. To this was given the name of Haggada. And finally both Mishna and Haggada were combined in what is known as the Babylonian Talmud.

(3) *As Jurists.*

The third work of the scribes was to act in the capacity of jurists or judges, of which we have no detailed account. But in the New Testament this threefold activity of the scribes is clearly defined. From their functions as scholars they are called "scribes," as teachers, "doctors of the law"; as jurists, they are known as "lawyers." All these professional activities were supposed to be performed gratuitously, but tradition indicates that this custom was more honored in the breach than in the observance.

The Scribes were, from the days of the Maccabees, so largely identified in interests and spirit with the Pharisees, that we find the New Testament referring to them almost constantly in the phrase "Scribes and Pharisees," in such a way as to imply that they were practically one. Indeed the scribes were simply the professional scholars of Pharisaism who became the authoritative teachers and jurists of the traditional law.

So as we survey the whole story of their growth from obscurity to the supreme legal authority in later Judaism, the final arbiters of custom and ceremony and ritual and social life, there is fresh truth and significance in the words of Jesus that "the Scribes and the Pharisees sit

in Moses' seat." All the authority and power wielded by the Great Lawgiver had passed on to them.

For the Judaism of Babylonia and the East was dominated by the spirit and traditions of its great scholars. While priest and king held the center of the stage in Jerusalem, the scribe was the honored man in Babylon, held in the highest esteem, far above even the wealthiest merchant-princes, constituting an aristocracy of intellect. One scribe far outweighed all the common people, and among the multitude who "knew not the Law and were accursed" (John 7:49) moved with regal tread. In the Talmud it is said that the scribe was honored of God, praised by the angels, and would hold highest rank in heaven. Even if he declared that the right hand were the left he was to be absolutely believed. To the academies of Babylonian Rabbinism, students flocked from all the Jewish world, to sit at the feet of the great scribes with awe and veneration; eagerly looking forward to the hour when men might call them "Rabbi." Wealthy Jewish families coveted this high honor for their sons, and the Book of Acts reveals such an ambition in that Tarsian family for their son Paul (Acts 22:3).

III. The Rabbinic Literature

This vigorous growth of Rabbinism could not fail to find expression not only in code and cus-

tom but in literature. And as we survey the total literary product of the Period of the Connections we find that the largest part was created in Palestine or Babylonia under the influence or from the pens of those Rabbinic thinkers, these scholars of Pharisaism. It will suffice at this point to briefly enumerate these books as they will be more fully discussed in a later chapter.

(1) *History.*

The histories produced under this influence and from this standpoint are two—*I Maccabees*, written in Palestine in Hebrew, the original being lost and preserved in our present Greek translation. It was written by a pious Sadducee. It cannot strictly be said to be Rabbinic, since it evidently was produced before Pharisaism had developed distinctive tenets and a party. Though it expresses no legalistic bias, it had best be classified here as a product of Eastern Judaism. "*I Esdras*" is a retelling of the narrative of the canonical book of Ezra, glorifying Ezra as the First Scribe and founder of the Rabbinical order.

(2) *Legend.*

The "*Second Book of Maccabees*" is semi-historical, retelling the story of the Maccabees from a Rabbinic point of view, but is strongly tinged with legend, so cannot be called a true history.

(3) *Fiction.*

Indeed the Rabbis, as the Haggada reveals,

as traditionalists were deeply interested in the stories and legends of the past, and so we owe to them "*Tobit*," "*Judith*," "*The Appendix to Esther*" and "*The Additions to Daniel*."

(4) *Didactic Literature.*

Didactic literature, intended to enforce the typical Rabbinic ideas, which came out of Eastern Judaism is represented by "*The Epistle of Jeremy*," a strict warning against idolatry; and "*The Book of Jubilees*," a commentary on Genesis which has been called "the narrowest book that ever emanated from legalistic Judaism."

(5) *Poetry.*

All the poetry of this Period of the Connections which has been preserved for us comes from this school of thought. "*The Prayer of Manasses*" is apparently based on an old Haggadic tradition and is infused with the spirit of early Maccabean Pharisaism. "*I Baruch*" is likewise Rabbinic in style and ideas. "*The Psalms of Solomon*" is from an extreme group of Pharisaic reformers, protesting against abuses in the Jewish church and state.

(6) *Apocalypse.*

Five apocalypses came from this same school of thought. "*The Assumption of Moses*" reflects the ideas of a mystical group of the Pharisees. "*II Baruch*" and "*II Esdras*" are strikingly similar and both come to us from a group of Rabbinic writers about the time of the Roman de-

struction of Jerusalem; Baruch from the liberal school of Hillel and Esdras from the conservative school of Shamnai. "*I Enoch*" is a group of four books, written by Pharisaism in Palestine, and largely quoted in the New Testament. Most spiritual of all is the newly-discovered "*Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs*"—"the most universalistic and ethical of all the apocalyptic writings of Judaism" (Charles), which was well known to the early Christians.

(7) *Laws.*

But the literary product of the scholarship of Eastern Judaism which bulked largest both in size and influence was the traditional Law. This complex literature, so varied and voluminous, touching as it did with its laws, theologies and parables every act of every day of the life of the average Jew; buttressed by tradition, bearing the sanctions of scholarship, venerable and venerated; more and more literally believed and enforced with every passing year—this it was which became known to Judaism at large as "*The Law*," to be obeyed as the veritable voice of God. And it was this traditional or Rabbinic Law, everywhere read and revered as the utterance of Deity, that was the supreme literary product of Eastern Judaism.

IV. The Pharisees

The religious life of Israel in the exilic and post-exilic periods is surrounded by the mists of

obscurity, due doubtless to the chaotic conditions of the life of those eras. But it is possible to deduce a few tentative conclusions. One of them is that during the Exile that group of men called "Levites" had developed the art of music and song; and in the devotional assemblies of that era, when the Temple was gone and those "congregations" (as the psalms call them, later becoming the word "synagogues") met for worship in Babylonia, these Levites led in the service of song. So, when Ezra called his great assembly to read to them the Book of the Law (Neh. 9:5; 8:4–9), they stood by his side to open with prayer and song this meeting in Jerusalem. To these men we owe many of the psalms (42, 49, 137, etc.). And in the psalms these Levites are referred to frequently as the "Hasidim" ("saints" or "pious") and the world is with but one exception (Psalms 50:5) always applied to them. So, as men of prayer and song, the Hasidim emerge in post-exilic times as men of large influence in Israel, having "the high praises of God in their mouth" (Psalms 149:1). And especially in later days was their piety manifest in prayer. For the art of public or common prayer in the devotional assemblies is unknown before the Exile, and conspicuous after the Exile; the extra canonical literature of this later period being filled with such prayers (e.g., "The Prayer of Manasses"). They seem to have come from the Hasidim, who became renowned

as men of prayer. A later member of the group, Onias, who was a popular saint, had a ditch drawn around him when he prayed, and was therefore called the "Circle-Drawer," and was credited with the power of invoking rain from heaven in drought. Many such traditions of these wonder-working Hasidim are found in the Talmud. From them came the formal prayers of the later Judaism in home and synagogue. The individual practice is represented in the tradition of Daniel, a type of the true Hasidim, who prayed thrice a day. And the synagogue practice of the eighteen daily and seven Sabbath "benedictions," which are not brief sentences but elaborate and stately prayers, was undoubtedly created by these Hasidim, to whom we owe the form and content of these prayers.

To this same group we owe in later times the observance of the Sabbath and the holy days or feasts of Judaism, which differed widely in character from their pre-exilic prototypes; and this change came through the Hasidim. The Sabbath was given new significance and sacredness as a day of positive righteousness and rest. The three festivals, Passover, Weeks and Tabernacles, originally agricultural feasts adopted from the Canaanites (spring, summer and autumn nature festivals), were transformed into historical celebrations and endowed with more of sacredness and value. The Passover became a day of redemption not only from Egypt but from all

slavery. The Feast of Weeks became a celebration of the giving of the Law of Sinai; and Tabernacles not only of the dwelling in the wilderness, but a time of joy for God's daily guidance and blessings. Two great holy days, the most important in the modern Jewish calendar, originated during or after the Exile, and also under the influence of the Hasidim. New Year's Day became a day of Divine judgment and deep meditation on human life, invested with solemn pomp, the blowing of trumpets, the reading of Scripture and sublime prayers of Hasidean authorship. The Day of Atonement was the outgrowth of the rite of expiation by the High Priest in the Temple, which among the Dispersion, where no Temple celebration was possible, assumed the form of a day in which the people searched their hearts and offered prayers of repentance.

This brief review of the origin and activities of the Hasidim gives some idea of their importance and influence in this transitional epoch of Judaism. In all this from the beginning they found themselves in sympathy and cooperation with the scribes. They were intensely loyal to the written and traditional Law and scrupulous in its observance. In conjunction with the scribes, under the Syrian reign, when the high-priests' irreligion and debasement threatened to undermine the Jewish religion, they organized themselves into a separate group called "The

Assembly of the Hasidim" (II Macc. 7:13). When the Maccabean hero Judas arose, they aided him to fight for victory over their brother oppressor, with militant patriotism which leads to their description as "having a two-edged sword in their hand, to execute vengeance upon the nation and chastisement upon the people" (Psalms 149:6–7). And this earnest and passionate patriotism they retained through all their later history.

But when the Maccabean rulers assumed the high priesthood and made political power their aim the Hasidim withdrew their support and separated from this union of church and state. And this act led their Sadducean enemies to confer upon them in scorn the nickname of "Perushim" or "Separatists," which in slightly-altered form as "Pharisees" they bore throughout their history. And in time this latter name eclipsed and obliterated the former, and Hasidim disappears. But Pharisaism took over the two leading ideas of the Hasidim—a sincere faith in the sovereignty and mercy of God, which led to the doctrine of the Messianic era and the Divine triumph; and an earnest acceptance of all the ceremonial and ethical laws of God, demanding a conscientious obedience. The first concept with its hope for the future had been largely derived by the Hasidim during the Persian Era from Zoroastrianism, and consisted of faith in the resurrection, the triumph

of Messiah over Satan and his demoniac hosts aided by the angelic armies, the divine judgment and future reward and punishment in the afterlife. So we find Pharisaic thought and literature penetrated with these Persian ideas of the future.

In later ages the Pharisee became a separatist not so much from heathenism and Hellenism as from the common people; his scrupulous observance of the law ignored its essentials for its externals, until he tithed even tiny seeds and forgot justice and mercy; he lost his ethical passion and became a formalist and casuist, and the whole movement degenerated. So the terrible philippic of Jesus was richly deserved.

But to make "Pharisee" the synonym of "hypocrite" as we do in popular thought is an unfair judgment. While New Testament Pharisaism had become self-centered and guilty of spiritual pride, the Pharisaism of the earlier days was characterized by much of nobility and power. These Pharisees were men of exemplary character, of real piety, of a fine philanthropy of spirit, and, originating as they did from the laity, the friends and champions of the common people. They were the uncompromising foes of heathenism, and ardent and devoted patriots. It was their example and teaching that helped to keep Israel loyal to Jehovah. And as one reviews this story of early Pharisaism he realizes that his attitude of utter condemnation rests on

shallow grounds. The Pharisees and scribes both worked together with one great purpose in mind, the preservation of the Jewish religion through the dark days of Exile and oppression, and to a large degree they kept it from utter loss and destruction.

The ultimate effect, however, of the exaltation of the Law by the scribe and the meticulous observance of its every "jot and tittle" by the Pharisee was to make the Jews of the East not only the "People of the Book," but also profoundly conservative and at last fanatically reactionary. Out from Babylonia and Palestine went this worship of the past and insistence on form, rite, ceremony, custom. Sitting in Moses' seat, the Rabbis emptied the old Mosaic law of its nobler elements to fill it with ritual and external acts, and the Judaism of the East, taking on its traditional changelessness, became fixed and static. Loyal to the Law, immersed in tradition, Eastern Judaism turned its face to the past, accepted no new ideas, made no progress. Its history was behind it, it had no promise for the future.

20°
25°
30°
Ister
THRACIA
MACEDONIA
Pella
Philippi
EPIRUS
THES-SALIA
HELLAS
Thebes
Athens
Corinth
Sparta
AEGEAN SEA
PROPONTIS
BITHYNIA
Ilium
MYSIA
Sangarius
PHRYGIA
Ipsus
LYDIA
Sardis
Miletus
CARIA
PISIDIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
CRETA
GREAT SEA
CYPRUS
Cyrene
Libya
Alexandria
Tanis
Pelusium
Gaza
Joppa
Temple of Ammon
Memphis
Petra
EGYPT
Nile
Abdus
Thebes
Syene
ARABIAN
40°
35°
30°
25°

40°
45°
50°
55°
CASPIAN SEA
SEA
ARMENIA
Euphrates
Lake Thospitis
Araxes
Lake Matianus
Amardus
Sarnus
Hyrcania
HYRCANIA
Nisibis
Nineveh
Tigris
Arbela
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
MEDIA
Rhagæ
Ecbatana
PARTH
Euphrates
Pallacopas Canal
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Tigris
Choaspes
Susa
SUSIANA
RABIA
Persepolis
PERSIS
Pasargadæ
Sitacus
CARMA
PERSIAN GULF
LONIAN EMPIRE
IAN EMPIRE
ANDER'S EMPIRE
Scale of Miles
40°
45°
Longitude East from Greenwich
50°
55°

65°
70°
75°
80°
40°
35°
30°
25°
60°
65°
70°
Jaxartes
SOGDIANA
Oxus
BACTRIA
Margus
Arius
UPPER INDIA
ARIA
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
Arius Lake
LOWER INDIA
GEDROSIA
Indus
THE M-N. CO.

CHAPTER III

THE SPELL OF GREECE

CHAPTER III

THE SPELL OF GREECE

I. The Western Judaism

THE traveler of today who lingers beneath the great columned portico of the Parthenon, and looks about him at the ruined temples of the Acropolis, unless he utterly lacks imagination, cannot but dream of that far-off day when the "Glory that was Greece" was in full effulgence, and here by the blue Ægean there was created the most brilliant civilization the world has ever known. Art, drama, architecture, literature, philosophy —all of which are still the marvel and despair of the world—came there suddenly into perfect flower. To name but a few of that galaxy of immortals that Greece produced—Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Demosthenes, Pericles, Phidias, Praxiteles —is to feel a sense of awe and amazement that any one age could have given birth to them all. Although Alexander's military conquest was but a shadow of empire, the subjugation of the world by the culture of Greece which followed it is a tremendous reality. Like a fine mist Greek thought filled the air, and the musical Greek tongue became the "lingua franca" of the an-

cient world. Even Rome's mighty empire bowed before the sway of this Greek kingdom of ideas, and Roman historians, poets and philosophers sat at the feet of the Greek masters. The forces of Greek civilization were everywhere at work during the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries. The government of the Greek cities was a representative popular government, and sowed the seeds of democracy. The gymnasium, stadium and theatre which Greece created for the ancient world furnished the amusements for its masses. Greek literature and art set the standard for all artistic production. The philosophies of Greece became the dominant forces in the thought-life of the Mediterranean world.

When the Jews swarmed out from their ancestral East in Alexander's day, and found at his invitation a place as colonists in the Greek cities, it was a veritable second Exodus, from the hardship and struggle of the Exilic days to the Promised Land of the West, with its hope and opportunity. And in ever-widening circles through the centuries since, that "Dispersion" has been going on. The Jew became a cosmopolite, and his colony or ghetto has been found in every city from ancient Alexandria to modern New York. By the time of Christ the exodus from the East to the West had assumed such dimensions that the list of the Jews of the Dispersion who had come to Jerusalem at Pentecost comprises the world of that day (Acts

2:8–11). Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of Christ, indicates its extent in these graphic words: "This sacred city, the Holy Jerusalem, has sent out from time to time settlements into the bordering lands of Egypt, Phœnicia and Syria, also into the more remote Pamphylia, Cilicia and Asia so far as Pontus; likewise to Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth and all the Peloponnesus. And not only are the continents full of Jewish settlements, so also are the islands—Eubœa, Cyprus, Crete. Tens of thousands of Jewish settlers are found in every latitude of the habitable world, in Europe, Asia and Libya." A comparison with the map will make clear the scope of this Dispersion of the Jews.

These Jews of the West found themselves in these myriad Greek cities where they had settled constantly environed by the influence and spirit of old Hellas or Greece; and there began among them a slow but steady leavening with that Hellenic spirit which is called "Hellenization." And these "Hellenists," as the Western Jews were called, found in the new capital which the Greek conqueror had created and named after himself —Alexandria—the center and focus for Western Judaism.

Alexandria was the meeting point of Europe, Asia and Africa and to it came men and treasures from all over the world. All about were the mighty memorials of that marvellous civil-

ization of the Pharaohs, but Egypt survived only in the perpetuation of her ancient religious cults. The main forces in Alexandria were the conservatism and mysticism of Asia and the brilliance and versatility of Greece. It was a great commercial city with its harbor and famous Pharos; and, with its million souls, second only to Rome in size. Through its streets flowed an endless tide of trade, and its market places resounded with the noise of barter and the tread of men and animals. It was a busy, bustling, thriving metropolis, fairly throbbing with restless vitality.

Here was the long canal to Canobus, the center of dissipation and pleasure, lined with luxurious inns; along whose banks at nightfall plied the endless line of pleasure-boats with their boisterous revellers. Here was the great Museum, under whose roof was housed a priceless collection of treasures of the ancient world; here also the great Library with its half million papyrus rolls containing the accumulated learning of mankind, and whose later destruction by fire was an irreparable loss to all history. And to its academies, universities, halls of philosophy, schools of medicine, flocked eager students from the four corners of the world. For Alexandria was Athens' rival for the place of intellectual mistress of mankind. With its miles of colonnades lining its great highway, its acres of palaces, its teeming markets, its crowded docks, it was truly a magnificent city.

It was here that the Jews of the West had their largest colony. At least one-seventh of the population in Roman times was Jewish. Here the Jews increased not only in numbers but in wealth, and the export grain-trade was entirely in their hands. One of these Jewish exporters was Alexander, who was entrusted with the affairs of Antonia, sister-in-law of Tiberius Cæsar, who loaned to King Agrippa the sum of $35,000, and through whose munificence the gold and silver which covered the massive gates of the Temple at Jerusalem had been provided. There were many Jewish synagogues in Alexandria, but the great central one was the proud boast of all Judaism. It was built like a basilica with long colonnades, and was so huge that its attendants had to devise signals to indicate to those in the rear the time for the responses. In its choir stood seventy chairs of state, for the elders of the synagogue, made of gold and encrusted with precious stones. Under the Ptolemies, and later under the Cæsars, the Alexandrian Jews were given special favors, and became even more prosperous, often arousing the resentment of their heathen fellow-townsmen, which however did not take the form of violence until the time of Christ. So the Jews grew in numbers, power and wealth in this city of old Egypt.

And here it is that one can see most clearly the way in which the spell of Greece fell upon

the Western Jew. Surrounded all the time by Hellenism, he could not escape it. It is true that with his stubborn pride of race, his stern exclusiveness, his love for the Law and his religion, the Jew could and did draw about himself a narrow circle, within which all was intensely and peculiarly Jewish. In his home he could light the Sabbath lamp and perform the ordinances of the Torah, and forget heathenism. And in the dignified worship of his synagogue, with its chanted Psalms and divine Scriptures and stately benedictions, he could think with lofty scorn and bitter contempt (which he expressed in his apocalypses) of the senseless idolatry and absurd superstitions which heathenism called by the name of religion.

But when he stepped outside that little circle, he was surrounded by the all-pervasive, subtle influences of Greece. As he passed through the streets to the marketplace he heard nothing but the Greek language, and soon he was forced to adopt it to carry on his business affairs. In an unbelievably short time, actually not more than a half-century, he had lost all knowledge of his mother-tongue and spoke only Greek. And once having learned the language, its culture began to penetrate his soul. In the marketplace men were ever discussing the ideas of Plato and Aristotle and Zeno; and he could not help but overhear, and in spite of himself be impressed by their beauty and lofty idealism.

In this city of universities and libraries the little papyrus rolls were ever being passed from hand to hand, or unrolled and read. Snatches of Homeric hexameter, or the stately lines of Æschylus, or the magic music of Sappho, or a glowing Pindaric ode would fall on his ears with an entrancing charm. Or, as he paused by some group in a cool colonnade, he would catch the laughter of the listeners at some witty sally of a comedy of Aristophanes, or their applause for the telling climax of an oration of Demosthenes. Like every Alexandrian he had often strolled through the royal mausoleum, and paused by the glass sarcophagus to look on the body of Alexander the Great; or looked up at the façade of the great Museum; or wandered through the endless halls of the Library—and, try as he might, he could not escape the sense of the vastness and splendor of Greek culture. Or, as he stood in his doorway, down the street would come a gay choric procession of Aphrodite or Dionysus, all garlanded in blossoms, rhythmic with weaving dances and vocal with pipe and song. And while he might frown and turn away, we may be sure that the pageantry and color would entrance the souls of the gaping younger folk, and the music set their pulses to leaping, when we remember that even in our sophisticated age there is a perennial charm in a parade. To the great chariot races that absorbed the thought and conversation of Alexandria for

weeks in advance, the Jew would find himself irresistibly drawn, to sit on a stone bench in the stadium, and feel the mad excitement of the mob, and even find himself joining in their wild cheers as their favorite steeds swept on to victory.

So it was inevitable that imperceptibly yet surely the mind and life of the Jew of the West should be influenced by Hellenism, be broadened and liberalized. For he could not turn away in disdain, as he had done from the absurd superstitions and crass idolatries of old Egypt or Canaan. This Greek culture was so brilliant, so attractive, so refined, so full of beauty and charm that it could not be put aside. So, in varying degrees the Jew of the West became Hellenized, conforming to the language, customs and ideas of the Greeks.

II. The Hellenization of Western Judaism

The first step was the adoption of the Greek language. And this made inevitable before long the second step, the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. This was eagerly desired by the Jews of Alexandria; for surrounded as they were by learning and themselves becoming cultured sufficiently to read as well as speak Greek, they were becoming impatient of merely hearing their sacred Scriptures read to them in the synagogue in Hebrew, and translated by an

interpreter into Greek. They wanted to read them in their own homes. This translation was made in Alexandria about 250 B. C. But, strangely enough, it originated not in Judaism but with the reigning monarch, Ptolemy Philadelphus. All the Ptolemies were lavish patrons of learning, but this one was literally book-mad. He wanted in his great Library a copy of every sacred scripture, so he authorized a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. The legendary account of this is given in detail in "The Letter of Aristeas," and ascribed by it to seventy learned Jews, so it was called the "Septuagint" or "seventy." This translation was of incalculable benefit to Judaism for the Hebrew manuscripts were understood only by a few scholars and were very expensive. The system of Greek amanuenses was so highly developed in this era that large numbers of copies could be produced at a reasonable price. So this version became the People's Bible for the succeeding centuries for the Jews of the Dispersion. And since Hebrew had, save to scholars, become a dead language in Palestine (where Aramaic had taken its place), and Greek became widely known there as everywhere, the Septuagint was circulated among the Jews of the homeland more and more extensively and we find the New Testament authors quoting from it constantly. So this version finally became the great Bible of the whole Jewish people in Jesus' day.

The third stage in this Hellenization was the creation of a Hellenistic literature in which Western Judaism either sought to explain itself in an apologetic for its faith, or tried to harmonize itself with Greek thought. The books thus produced are not so numerous as those which came from Eastern Judaism, but they had a large influence.

The oldest and best-known of this Hellenistic Jewish literature is "*Ecclesiasticus.*" It was written in Palestine in the early part of the second century B. C., where at this time Greek influences had penetrated the homeland from the Dispersion, and had begun to make themselves felt. It is pervaded by a breadth of mind and a tolerance which are in marked contrast to the narrowness of the Pharisaic literature. "*The Letter of Aristeas*" is a charming legend of the creation of the Septuagint, and was probably written in Alexandria. "*IV Maccabees*" is based on a legend of Egypt in earlier days, and was also written in Alexandria and in a pure classic Greek. It contains many phrases reminiscent of Greek philosophy. "*III Maccabees*" is really a Jewish stoical treatise on the supremacy of reason. "*The Wisdom of Solomon*" contains both Platonic and Stoic elements; the "Wisdom" there set forth having close kinship with the Platonic philosophy. Two apocalyptic works come from this Alexandrian school of Hellenistic Judaism. "*II Enoch*" or "The Slavonic Book of

Enoch" comes to us from the pen of a Hellenistic Jew, and is a strange commingling of Platonic, Egyptian and Jewish elements. "*The Sibylline Oracles*" seek to unite current heathen myths with the stories of the Old Testament, and to identify the heathen gods with the Jewish patriarchs. All this literature bears ample evidence within it of how far Western Judaism had been impregnated with Hellenic ideas and culture.

The last step toward harmonizing Greek and Jewish thought took place in Alexandria at the beginning of the Christian Era. Philo, a member of an aristocratic and wealthy Jewish family, gave himself for years to an earnest study not only of Jewish learning but of Greek culture, and became master of both. Then, in the fullness of his powers, he undertook the task of combining Judaism and Hellenism in a new synthesis of theology, ethics and philosophy, and to this he devoted the rest of his life. His writings are the greatest literary product of Hellenistic Judaism. He became famous all over the Jewish world, and to him in Alexandria flocked eager students to learn the new philosophy which came to bear his name, and which had become immensely popular; and which is revealed in later New Testament literature (Ephesians, Colossians, Prologue to Fourth Gospel) as a disturbing factor in the mind of the early church. Everywhere the Greek-speak-

ing Jews, whose daily contact with Hellenism had made it difficult to hold rigidly to the old faith and practice in the light of Hellenic culture, were groping for some philosophy of religion that might satisfy conscience and intellect, retain loyalty to the old and yet appropriate the new ideas. And the new Philonian philosophy combining old and new, seemed to answer their questions and solve their problems, so they welcomed it with eagerness.

Philo set himself to the task of fusing the best of Greek philosophy with the leading ideas of the Old Testament and the current Rabbinism. From Greek philosophy he adopted the Platonic concept of the radical distinction between the absolute God and the material world. Between the two was an apparently impassable and infinite gulf. But since man and the universe were material entities, which seemingly came from some Divine source, Philo bridged that gulf by means of certain intermediate divine beings, "manifestations" of God (of which the most important was the "Logos" or "word") which thus "stepped down" (to use a modern electrical term) the absolute Divine to the world. These were not embodiments or personalities, but were closely akin to Plato's "archetypal ideas,"—shadowy, elusive, baffling concepts for our practical modern minds to lay hold upon, but dear to the speculative Greeks. The most famous of these manifestations—"the Logos"—was a sub-

ject of so much discussion by this Alexandrian philosopher and his fellows, that Philo's philosophy is often called the "Logos Philosophy." The word "Logos" was as much a catchword of philosophy in that day as "evolution" is in our own. And how largely it influenced contemporary thought is evidenced by the fact that John in the prologue to his gospel (1:1–18) not only uses the word but makes plain the difference between this philosophy and Christianity.

Strange and fantastic as it may seem to the modern mind it was the outgrowth with Philo not of mere speculation but of a real inward experience. He was essentially a mystic, and mysticism always consists in belief that, through an inner experience, one can see and commune directly with God. Listen to Philo: "If thou yearnest, O soul, to inherit the good things of God, thou must leave not only thy 'country,' that is thy body; and thy 'kindred,' thy senses, and the 'house of thy father,' thy reason; but thou must even run away from thyself, and be inspired by a kind of prophetic afflatus—led along by the One Really Real, drawn upward toward Him—and behold thy soul shall find its inheritance."

Knowing thus in his own soul that only in this supersensual, and in a sense superhuman experience, did he truly find God, he could conceive that through a series of such elevated planes of thought extended infinite degrees from man to

God and God to man, like as the angels passed up and down Jacob's ladder, the spiritual connection of God with man was achieved through "manifestations," "powers," "dominions," "words."

It was from this same experience that Philo's practical teaching treads out. Since only in this lofty mystical experience could man find God, that experience was for him the goal of human culture and the crown of character. Thus (following Aristotle) he told his followers that they must rise above the sensuous into the spiritual by three stages—study, discipline, and a good disposition.

And to fit all his teaching into Jewish moulds and harmonize it with Judaism, Philo borrowed from Rabbinism its allegorical method of interpretation and carried it to fantastic lengths. By it the plain words of Scripture all became symbolic and figurative. So, in this teaching of the Three Stages of Progress just mentioned, he finds this revealed in the three great patriarchs: Abraham ("Study"), Jacob ("Discipline"), and Isaac ("A Good Disposition"). Or again, he teaches that True Wisdom in Perfection is represented by Eden. From this there went out one main stream (Goodness), which was divided into four branches—Pison (Prudence), Gihon (Fortitude), Tigris (Desire), and Euphrates (Justice). Those who know the history of Biblical interpretation realize the disastrous effects upon

true Biblical knowledge of the allegorizing of Philo and the Rabbis. But to his time it seemed a convincing and satisfying interpretation of Scripture.

Philo's philosophy, vague and perplexing as it may seem to us today, is yet pervaded with a largeness, serenity and faith which made it to his age and world sane and helpful. For, with all his Greek ideas, he is yet at heart a Jew, believing that the observance of the Law is the best way to goodness, and faith in Jehovah to the entrance into eternal life. And with his speculations and vagaries is incorporated a wholesome and sane practical philosophy for the daily life. And every soul can find response to these words of his: "To what soul comes the conquest of evil save to the soul to which God has been manifest, which he has counted worthy of his unutterable revelations? O Saviour, thou hast shown Thy own noblest works to the soul which yearns after beauty, and hast hid from it nothing of Thyself."

In Philo we see the climax of this movement in Judaism in the West toward understanding and adoption of Greek thought; and thus Hellenism expressed in this literature spread out from Egypt over the whole Jewish world, even entering into the sacred land of Palestine and challenging there the narrow Judaism of the East. In Babylon and Jerusalem the Jew worshipped the past; in Alexandria he had his face turned toward the future.

One of the forms in which this influence of Greece upon Judaism found expression was through that group of Jewish leaders known in history as the Sadducees. The origin of the word was long in dispute, but recent studies of the subject have made it practically certain that it is from "Zadokites" or "sons of Zadok." Zadok was priest in Jerusalem during the days of David and Solomon (I Kings 2:35; I Chron. 29:22), and "sons of Zadok" meant the hereditary priesthood. During the post-exilic period it was from their ranks that the high-priests were chosen. In the course of the struggle to maintain themselves in power the later Maccabean princes were forced to enter into alliance with foreign nations, and became in consequence less intensely and exclusively nationalistic. And as these Maccabean rulers also became high-priests as well as princes, the whole priestly group became their devoted adherents and partisans, and were called "Zadokites" which became in time "Sadducees." The Hasidim, who had withdrawn their support from these Maccabean priest-princes, and whose sole concern was the preservation of the Jewish faith, cared little about the perpetuation of the Jewish state. The Sadducees on the contrary were concerned primarily in the enlargement of the political power of the state, and cared little about religious purity. The slogan of the Hasidim was "Perishut," "separatism," in Greek "*amixia*" (II Maccabees 14:37);

and the Sadducean party took as its watchword —"*epimixia*"—"assimilation." Their opposing aims are clearly seen in these words; one desiring absolute separation from the Gentile world, the other adjustment and assimilation.

The Pharisees and Sadducees first came into open conflict with each other in the time of John Hyrcanus, who finally allied himself openly with the Sadducees. Under Alexander Jannæus the Sadducees were supreme, but under Queen Alexandra the Pharisees again came into power. And with the fall of the Maccabean dynasty the political power of the Sadducees came to be negligible. Herod further diminished their influence; but later during direct Roman rule under the procurators, they again became important for a time, because of the Roman appointment of their members as high-priests and rulers in the Sanhedrin. And this is their status in the days of Jesus. With the fall of the Temple and the city in 70 A. D. the Sadducees ceased to exist, and Pharisaism alone was left, with the synagogue as its means of influence, to rule in later eras. Thus "the aristocracy of blood and of wealth represented by the upper classes, the ancient priesthood and its patrician families were swept aside by the aristocracy of learning, which henceforth fashioned Judaism" (Kohler).

The Sadducees throughout their history never had the sympathy or following of the

masses as did the Pharisees. Their arrogance, haughtiness and tyranny made them unpopular. Worldly-minded and immersed in politics, matters of religion were to them of secondary concern. They opposed the Pharisees in toto. They accepted the written law of Moses, but rejected the oral or traditional law of Rabbinism. They denied entirely the Pharisaic idea of Divine providence, and, much like the Stoics, believed that men were masters of their own fates. They denied the doctrines of the resurrection and the after-life taught by the Pharisees, as not found in the Old Testament.

And it was natural, that, allied as they were throughout with political rulers, or wielding power themselves; proud of their blood and lineage; dowered by their wealth with the leisure for culture and travel; they were always amenable to foreign influences, and from the days of Alexander onwards leaned strongly toward Hellenism. And, while nominally loyal to Judaism, they were very largely influenced by those Greek ideas and customs which had begun to penetrate Palestine from the days of Antiochus the Great. Jason, a high-priest of the pre-Maccabean Era, went so far as to introduce Greek festivals and games in Jerusalem and to cause his courtiers to dress like Greeks. While the Maccabean revolution checked this Hellenistic tendency for a time, we find it emerging in later Maccabean times, as is indi-

cated by the fact that the sons of Hyrcanus all had Greek names—Aristobulus, Antigonus, Alexander; Alexander even going so far as to adopt the Greek word "Basileus" as his kingly title. With all this drift toward Hellenism the Sadducees seem to have been in entire sympathy.

III. Cross Currents in Judaism

Such widely divergent types of thought and life as we find represented in Pharisee and Sadducee could not but lead to a constant conflict within Judaism in Palestine, whose echoes were heard in the whole Jewish world. But it was not so much a conflict between two distinct political parties, as we have often supposed, as between two opposing social, mental and religious tendencies and two theories of life. The Sadducee was an aristocrat, the Pharisee a man of the people. The Sadducee was a politician, the Pharisee a religionist. The Sadducee was lax in morality, the Pharisee scrupulous in ethical observance. The Sadducee was open-minded and liberal, the Pharisee narrow and reactionary. It was inevitable that the clash of these two groups should be in evidence through all this interbiblical period.

As we draw nearer the New Testament era it is interesting to note that the Pharisaic movement seems to have developed within itself two op-

posing tendencies, which ultimated in the creation at either extreme of two other groups which we find in our New Testament era.

The first stage of development in Pharisaism came in a more liberal theology in what was known as the school of Hillel, while the other found form under Shammai, in the more narrow and fanatically literalist Pharisaism, the school of thought to which Paul seems to have belonged while in the Sanhedrin (Acts 26:5).

The second stage of development was a movement on the one hand toward quietism and mysticism, and away from the political spirit and dreams of popular Pharisaism (seen in the "Assumption of Moses"), which ultimated in the "Essenes," the monks of New Testament Judaism, who prayed and lived holy lives and looked forward to a spiritual kingdom of God.

On the other hand there came into being the "Zealots," who in the period just before and after the beginning of the Christian Era put to the test of action the political and religious ideas of extreme Pharisaism. The Pharisees hated all the oppressors of Judaism, and Rome most of all, but were too timid to do anything but passively protest; while the Zealot took sword and resisted to the death the Roman rule, fomenting rebellion after rebellion.

Yet while Pharisee and Sadducee thus carried on this struggle through the years, it must

be remembered that they still worshipped in the same temple, and remained members of the same Jewish Church. And, moreover, they formed together the supreme governing body in Jerusalem—the Sanhedrin. This, which originated in the time of Alexander Jannæus, displaced an earlier "tribunal of the Asmoneans" (which was made up entirely of Sadducees) and was constituted largely of Pharisees, thus marking a distinct movement toward democracy, since as we have already seen the Pharisees were of the common people. So it was appropriate that it should adopt the name Sanhedrin, a Jewish rendering of "sunedrion," the Greek word for the "senate," which in each Greek city was made up of leading citizens, chosen by the people. This Jewish Sanhedrin was made up of seventy-one members, composed throughout its history of both Pharisees and Sadducees, now one preponderating and now the other, depending on the politics of the time.

Far more important than this struggle in Palestinian Judaism was that greater conflict in the Jewish world at large, not between parties or sects, but between the two great spiritual forces—Hebraism and Hellenism, the Judaism of the East and of the West. It was not an outer but an inner conflict, a struggle within the souls of men between two great ideas for the mastery. Nor is it so remote as it might seem. For Hebraism and Hellenism are still struggling in

our modern world, and we face the same problems that thoughful and earnest Jews found in this Period of the Connections. Today it is a conflict between theology and science—a theology largely dominated by outworn tradition and dogmas; and a science which has often been materialistic and irreligious. Fundamentalist vs. Modernist, Orthodox vs. Liberal: thus Pharisee and Sadducee confront us today in new form but the same spirit of partisanship. The adjustments we must needs make today are so difficult that we can sympathize with the Jew in his problem. How much of this fascinating, vivid, arresting, convincing, positive new thought of today may a man accept without endangering his spiritual life? How much of the traditional views of Bible and creed and church may he discard without losing his faith in God and truth? Or, to take it as the Alexandrian Jew (surrounded by the intermingled æsthetic beauty and moral corruption of Greek customs and life) faced it in the realm of daily living; how much of this new revolt of youth, this contempt for convention, this modern freedom of action, this revolution in ethics is true and how much is false? How shall we keep religion and lay hold on culture? That is the perennial problem which created cross-currents of thought and life in ancient Judaism which we today, perhaps better than in any preceding era, living as we do like those Jews, in an age of transi-

tion, can understand and appreciate to the full.

The outcome of that titanic spiritual struggle within Judaism in this era was fraught with momentous consequences for Christianity and its history. For it becomes obvious, as the New Testament unfolds its story, that in Paul the Judaism of the East in which he had been reared was in his personal life and that of the church, enlarged into that Christian religion which was permeated with the forward-looking, liberal spirit of Hellenistic Judaism; and with him this new-old religion passed for the ages to follow from the East to the West to become the moulding force of Western civilization.

CHAPTER IV

TEMPLE AND SYNAGOGUE

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THE two great outstanding qualities of Judaism which came to full flower in this interval between the Testaments, and which have remained to the present day, were devotion to the Law and to the community,—and both conceived as the special command and creation of God. In pre-exilic days two things had found form in Jerusalem—religion and politics, church and state. But when the Jews were scattered over the world, then the Law became the symbol of the church, and the local community took the place of the Hebrew commonwealth of Palestine. And to those two ideas the post-exilic Jew gave an intensity of loyalty which, carried to its extreme, ultimated in legalism and exclusiveness.

Behind both these concepts giving them sanction and power lay a third idea which was the peculiar genius of Israel, their passion for the one true God.

> "As the hart panteth after the waterbrooks
> So panteth my soul after thee, O God."

It was not a reasoned conclusion that led Israel to faith in God but a burning spiritual thirst.

This desire for God and communion with Him in the soul are found expressed in two great institutions of Judaism—the Temple and the Synagogue. Each had its function and together, side by side, during all this Period of the Connections they stood, satisfying the longing of the Hebrew soul for communion with and worship of Jehovah. As representative of the deeper religious life of the Israel of that era they deserve a careful consideration.

I. The Three Temples

When David had centered the political life of Israel in Jerusalem, Solomon focused its religious life in the first Temple, concerning whose building we have record in II Kings (chaps. 5–8). The Temple of Solomon is enshrined in a halo of glory by tradition, but in fact it was rather small and unimposing. It consisted of a rectangular stone structure, 124 by 55 feet and 52 feet high, built on the site where now stands the Mosque of Omar. It was divided into two sections, the Holy Place and the Most Holy Place. Like all ancient temples this arrangement was intended to lead the steps and the thoughts of the worshipper into ever more of mystery and sanctity. Before the Holy Place was a porch whose entrance was flanked by two large pillars, Jachin and Boaz. In the Holy Place stood the Altar of Shewbread, the Gold-

en Candlesticks, the Brazen Serpent and Brazen Sea. The Most Holy Place contained only the Ark (within which were the ten tables of the Law) overshadowed by the outstretched wings of the cherubim. It had been carried thither in solemn procession by the priests, an event commemorated each year by the singing of Psalm 24, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates!" Into this Most Holy Place only the High Priest might enter.

This Temple of Solomon was destroyed in that hour (586 B. C.) when Babylonia conquered Jerusalem and took away the Jews into exile. Under Zerubbabel a new temple was erected on the same site, and completed about 520 B. C. It seems to have closely resembled Solomon's Temple, with one very significant change—*all the tangible symbols* which in any way even slightly resembled the imagery of heathen religion had been removed. The Brazen Sea, supported by oxen, was possibly symbolic of the water which Moses evoked from the rock; the pillars, Jachim and Boaz, of the pillar of fire; the Bronze Serpent, of the incident in Num. 21:9. All these were symbolic of the wilderness period of Israel, but back of them lay myths of pre-Hebrew days. So they were abolished in the second Temple. And the ark and the cherubim also disappeared, and the inner sanctuary was empty, as Pompey found it. Tacitus refers to it as "inania arcana." This

strong revulsion against even the suggestion of heathenism indicates the intensity of the monotheism which came out of the Exile. Henceforth Israel worshipped an unseen God.

The Herodian Temple, begun in 19 B. C. and not finished until 64 A. D., was a truly magnificent structure, about 1,000 feet square, occupying the summit of the hill Zion, a mass of snowy marble and glittering gold. It was surrounded by covered double colonnades or "porches," the most famous of which was the eastern colonnade—"Solomon's Porch." Within these colonnades was the huge outer court, or "Court of the Gentiles," into which any one might enter. It could hold on occasion as many as 150,000 people. The Temple proper was a huge walled building, and was surrounded by a low outer wall beyond which no one but a Jew might pass (an inscription from this wall bearing its trespass warning being found in recent years in Jerusalem). Within this was first the Court of the Women; and then, passing up fifteen steps, was the Court of Israel; within which was an inner court, the Priests' Court, where stood the Great Altar of Burnt Offering. Out of this latter court rose a lofty structure, the sanctuary proper, reproducing in the main the appearance of the Solomonic Temple. Passing through massive golden gates into the Holy Place there were found the Table of Shewbread, the Golden Candlestick, and the Altar

of Incense. A heavy double veil hung over the entrance to the Most Holy Place which was empty save for the "Foundation Stone," on which, according to tradition, the world was founded. This Herodian Temple was of course in its full glory in Jesus' day, but his prophecy of its destruction was literally fulfilled, when in 70 A. D., after a terrible four-months' siege whose details are given in Josephus, city and Temple were razed to the ground. And this marked the end of the Jewish Temple on Mount Zion. Christian basilica and Mohammedan mosque took its place. But as a spiritual symbol the Temple still is dear to Judaism, and each day by the great foundation stone of the first Temple, Jews from all over the world lift up their lamentation over its fall.

To the temple was attached as among all ancient people a priesthood, into whose hands was entrusted the conduct of worship. Out of the troubled days of the divided kingdom came the reformation of Josiah and the Book of Deuteronomy, centralizing worship in Jerusalem in the temple and making its priesthood the only legitimate functionaries at the altar. And when the second Temple was erected after the Exile an even more elaborate system of law and custom, called the Priestly Code, was created, which invested the priesthood with more of authority and power. The high priest became even more powerful than the king at this period.

The priesthood formed the high court of justice and the high priest was its head and the leader of the nation. And out of this hereditary priesthood, as we have seen, came the Sadducean party. When the later high priests became from the Maccabean days political appointees, finally even made by the heathen rulers, they became venal and lost any real spiritual character. The priesthood, however, was at the height of its outward splendor in Jesus' day, and an army of priests, 20,000 in number, ministered in the Herodian Temple. But when this was destroyed in 70 A. D. the priesthood ceased to be.

The story of the orders, offices and duties of the priesthood is too complex and involved to enter into here. The Deuteronomic Code and Priests' Code contain elaborate directions for the whole priestly office. It is sufficient to say that in the period which we are discussing there were twenty-four divisions or "families" of priests, each having a certain task or period of duty. To them fell the duties of sacrifice within the Temple and the ritual acts that grew up about it. Outside the sanctuary they had the regulation of custom and practice, like marriage and ceremonial purification. To the Levites, as we have already seen, was given the conduct of song. They also were guardians of the material property of the Temple. These also were divided into four groups or guilds, such as those

known as "sons of" Korah, Asaph, Heman, Ethan. The leader of the choir of singers was known as the "Chief Musician" (found in the titles of 55 psalms). Most of the later psalms, as is now generally agreed by scholars, were written in this post-exilic period, and were originally intended for use in the Temple; many of them being antiphonal or polyphonal in structure, to be sung by a number of choirs. An examination of Moulton's "Modern Readers Bible" will reveal at a glance both the elaborate structure and probable use of these psalms. They express not individual aspiration but congregational worship.

As regards the details of the order of worship in the Temple we are much in doubt, but some of its elements may be indicated with a fair degree of certainty.

First there were the sacrifices—of which there were the burnt offering, peace offering, and sin offering. The first two were general acts of normal public worship, the third was a special act for the removal of individual or group guilt by reason of ceremonial uncleanness or violation of the ritual laws. An elaborate ritual of acts in the sacrifice is prescribed for penitent and priest in the Priestly Code and may be found in Leviticus and Numbers. These sacrificial elements of the service were invested with much pomp and solemnity.

There was also the musical or worship part

of the service in charge of the Levitical guilds. Under their leadership were developed great trained choirs and in Chronicles we are told that they numbered 4,000. Elaborate methods of instruction under expert teachers seemed to have been provided. As to the nature of the music we are utterly in the dark; but we do know that it was an art to which the Hebrews gave much thought, and was dedicated almost exclusively to the service of God in the sanctuary. The structure of the psalms indicates that in these compositions, many of which are really Temple-anthems, there was the use of solo parts, antiphons and choruses.

And there is ample evidence that in addition there was instrumental accompaniment by trained orchestras. These may be divided, as in our conventional division, into String, Wind, and Percussion instruments.

Of the stringed instruments there were the lyre and harp (the name of the latter, "psalterion," giving the name "psalmos" or "psalm" to these Hebrew sacred musical compositions, as songs intended to be sung to harp accompaniment; and David the Father of the Psalter is represented as singing to Saul his songs to a harp).

The wind instruments were the flute, the double flute, the symphonium (saxophone), the trombone, and the trumpet. (The last named, called "shophar," originally a ram's

horn, is retained in the modern synagogue and blown on holy days.)

The percussion instruments were the drum or tamborine, the cymbals, and sistrum (or castanets). A glance over the instruments represented—flute, saxophone, cymbals, drum, etc., with no violin-like instruments, shows that the Hebrew orchestra was basically not unlike the jazz orchestra of today; and its effects were like jazz, more noise than music.

In the psalms we find directions as to the use of the orchestra in worship. "Nehiloth" (5) was an accompaniment of the wind instruments. "Neginoth" (4, 6) of the stringed instruments. "Selah" is an instrumental interlude. There are also directions for the choir in the psalms. "Higgaion" means forte. "Sheminith" means "bass" while "Alamoth" means "soprano"; referring doubtless to passages where the two sections of the choir had parts to be sung alone. Some of the psalms also have indications of the tunes to which they were to be sung. Thus "Hind of the Dawn" (22), "Destroy Not" (57), "The Silent Dove" (56), "Lilies of the Testimony" (45), are the names of old folk songs to which the psalms are set.

The service of the Temple must have been elaborate and stately, with the gorgeously robed priests, the smoke of sacrifice, and perfume of golden censers; the chanting of great choirs of men and boys; the bursts of orches-

tral music and the occasional thunderous shout of "Amen" or "Hallelujah" from the worshipping multitude. Especially impressive was the Day of Atonement, when the High Priest clad in white robes, surrounded by the army of gorgeously garmented priests, after the waving of censers and solemn chants and litanies by the great choir were over, and the blood of sacrifice had been sprinkled, entered past the great veil into the Holy of Holies and there, while the great multitude in awestruck silence knelt with bated breath and beating hearts, offered, in the darkness and silence of the inner shrine, his prayer of atonement for himself and Israel.

So through the centuries, in each successive temple, with its rivers of blood poured out on the altar, with its rich and elaborate ritual, with its pomp and pageantry and colorful beauty of its moving processions of priests and acolytes, with its great choirs and orchestras sending forth praises to God, the people of Judaism found satisfaction in its feasts and Sabbaths, its daily sacrifices and solemn services for their desire for God and the aspiration of their souls after the unseen.

II. The Synagogue

But in time there came into existence a new institution in Judaism, which was created by the temporary loss of the Temple in the deporta-

tion to Babylon. In these early days of the Exile there seem to have been held devotional assemblies to meet the desires of the people for prayer and Scripture reading. These are referred to as the "congregation of the people" and the word "Edah" (congregation) became in time translated into the Greek word "synagogue." Then when in the post-exilic era the Jews scattered over the whole world, they took with them from Babylon the germ of this institution, and, under the stimulus of the Hasidim, who were the real creators of the Synagogue, this institution met the vital need of those Jews of the dispersion for a common center for worship, religious life, and religious teaching. The synagogue was the creation of the laity and came from these progenitors of the Pharisees, who were recruited not from a hereditary priesthood or a wealthy aristocracy but from the common people. It seems to have had a spontaneous and amazing growth and by the time of Christ every place where Jews were found had one or more synagogues; not only in the Dispersion but the Homeland. To the Jews of the Dispersion they were places where not only could they hear the Scriptures and in its service catch echoes of the far-away Temple ritual, but they were also centers of social life in which the stranger found a welcome and hospitality and practical help. And these synagogues in the midst of a heathen world were

for the Apostle Paul the places in which he began the leavening of the Jewish and the Gentile community with the gospel. They were of incalculable value to the early church. Everywhere Paul went,—Damascus, Antioch, Rome, Ephesus,—he found the synagogue as a fulcrum to lift the world to Christ.

In Palestine they grew up with equal rapidity—and at Nazareth, Capernaum, Cæsarea, Lydda, Tiberias,—they were found. In Jerusalem, under the very shadow of the temple, tradition says there were 480, and while this is of course hyperbole, yet we know there were many of them in the very heart of Judaism.

The buildings in which they were housed were built by the Jewish community. They were simple structures, in which at one end was a raised platform for the "Ark" which contained the Scripture, and before it chairs for the rulers of the synagogue and honored guests. In the middle of the platform was the reading desk and beside it a chair in which the sermon was delivered while seated.

The organization was equally simple and informal. There was a group of elders or "rulers" who were chosen by the people, and of them one was elected as "ruler of the synagogue." This group of "rulers" formed the local Sanhedrin. It was the duty of this chief "ruler" to have charge of the divine service, decide who was to read the Law, the Prophets,

offer prayer and deliver an address; and see that all things were done with reverence and decorum. There was also a temple attendant, the Chazzan, who acted in the capacity of assistant in the public service, had charge of the synagogue building and also acted as schoolmaster. For every synagogue was a place of instruction as well as prayer and had its own synagogue school; and in the synagogue service there was a "Prayer of the Schoolhouse" offered for this work of the synagogues. In addition at most large synagogues there was a "methorgeman" or interpreter. For in Palestine and Babylonia where Hebrew was not understood, it was necessary to make a translation (called a Targum) into the Aramaic for the sake of the people.

But the one distinctive feature of the synagogue which must be kept in mind was its democracy. The officers were elected by the people; the service was informal and in it the people could participate both in response and discussion; both scripture and prayer were offered not by a priestly hierarchy of celebrants, but by any layman chosen by the congregation. This democratic character of the synagogue has continued to the present day, and has meant much for simplicity, sincerity, and reality in the Hebrew religion through the centuries.

The synagogue has been the real dynamic in Judaism through the ages. It made the Jew-

ish religion so attractive that many of the more spiritual and thoughtful heathen became proselytes to Judaism, accepting circumcision and the rites of Judaism. But many more, no small number according to our best information, were attracted mightily by the synagogue and its religion, and attended its services, finding in them much inspiration, but did not go over to Judaism.

Of the order of worship in the synagogue we have much more detailed knowledge than of that in the Temple. As indicated above, the entire service was in charge of the chief ruler of the synagogue, selecting in advance those who were to take the various parts of the service.

It began with the ascending to the lectern of the chosen leader who opened the service with two prayers, which in their ancient form read as follows:

1. "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King of the world, Who formest the light and createst the darkness, Who makest peace, and createst everything; Who, in mercy, givest light to the earth, and to those who dwell upon it, and in Thy goodness, day by day, and every day, renewest the works of creation. Blessed be the Lord our God for the glory of His handiworks, and for the light-giving lights which He has made for His praise. Blessed be the Lord our God, Who has formed the lights."

2. "With great love hast Thou loved us, O

Lord our God, and with much overflowing pity hast Thou pitied us, our Father and our King. For the sake of our fathers who trusted in Thee, and Thou taughtest them the statutes of life, have mercy upon us, and teach us. Enlighten our eyes in Thy Law; cause our hearts to cleave to Thy commandments; unite our hearts to love and fear Thy Name, and we shall not be put to shame, world without end. For Thou art a God Who preparest salvation, and us hast Thou chosen from among all nations and tongues, and hast in truth brought us near to Thy great Name—that we may lovingly praise Thee and Thy Unity. Blessed be the Lord, Who in love chose His people Israel."

Then followed the recitation by the congregation of the central part of this preliminary devotional service—the creed of Israel—the Shema—"Hear O Israel the Lord our God is one" (Deut. 6:4–9). This Deuteronomic verse was the watchword of the Jew, challenging all other religious systems of the world. The Shema was followed by this response:

"True it is that Thou art Jehovah, our God, and the God of our fathers, our King, and the King of our Fathers, our Saviour, and the Saviour of our fathers, our Creator, the Rock of our Salvation, our Help and our Deliverer. Thy Name is from everlasting, and there is no God beside Thee. A new song did they that were delivered sing to Thy Name by the sea-

shore; together did all praise and own Thee King, and say, Jehovah shall reign, world without end! Blessed be the God Who saveth Israel."

Then the officiating person took his place before the ark containing the roll of the Law and offered prayer in behalf of the congregation. Eighteen such prayers, called "Benedictions," were used as lectionary and six of these, the first and the last three, were used in the Sabbath service. The second may serve as an example:

"Thou, O Lord, art mighty for ever; Thou, Who quickenest the dead, art mighty to save. In Thy mercy Thou preservest the living, Thou quickenest the dead; in Thine abundant pity Thou bearest up those who fall, and healest those who are diseased, and loosest those who are bound, and fulfillest Thy faithful word to those who sleep in the dust. Who is like unto Thee, Lord of strength, and who can be compared to Thee, Who killest and makest alive, and causest salvation to spring forth? And faithful art Thou to give life to the dead. Blessed art Thou, Jehovah, Who quickenest the dead!" To these benedictions the people responded with an "Amen."

The devotional part of the service now being completed, the Chazzan approached the ark and removed from it the roll of the Law, from which the officiating priest read a selection; then he took out the roll of the Prophets from

which another selection was read. As the Hebrew was not understood, the Methorgeman stood by the side of the reader and translated it into the Aramaic, verse by verse.

The reading from the Prophets was immediately followed by an address or sermon, when a Rabbi was present or some distinguished stranger. This sermonizing was held in highest regard by the Jewish people. The one prime requisite was familiarity by the preacher with the Scriptures, for upon their exposition his sermon must be based. But above all he must make his sermon attractive; so he introduced parables, stories, allegories, witticisms to enliven his discourse. Such a sermon seems to our modern minds very informal, and strangely enough was delivered by the speaker while seated rather than standing. At the end of the sermon was a short prayer of ascription, and the Sabbath service was over.

From the Temple in type and symbol certain things were retained. The seven-branched candlestick was kept. The altar was replaced by the Law; the Ark of the Shekinah within the Holy of Holies by the wooden box called the "ark" that held the Law; the elaborate ritual by the simple prayers and benedictions; the smoke of sacrifice by the incense of intercessory prayer to which in the synagogue service there was given the name "Kareb" (Kareb means originally "sacrifice" and was translated "offer up." And strangely enough the same phrase is still used

in the rite of public prayer which the clergymen of today "offer up," like a sacrifice). Nothing could be in more striking contrast to the Temple worship than this synagogue service. Neither the reader of Scripture, leader of prayer nor preacher required any ordination or had any official or professional standing. The Synagogue was the creation of the laity, its "elders" or "rulers" were chosen by the congregation and the utmost democracy and informality prevailed. For the spirit of the two institutions was wholly different. No priestly hierarchy ruled in the synagogue, lay readers and preachers took their place. And instead of listening from afar to chanted prayers and a formal and elaborate liturgy, the worshipper in the synagogue felt himself to be participating in the benedictions and prayers. And the introduction of the reading of the Scriptures to the people on Sabbaths and market days by the synagogue leaders in their own tongue to be understood by all, wrought the same revolution for Judaism that the Reformation wrought in later days when it took the Bible out of the monopoly of its use in Latin in the liturgy and gave it to the common people of Europe in their own tongue. And the educational side of the synagogue, its schools for the young, disseminated still more widely the knowledge of Scripture and the tenets of religion. So the synagogue not only developed a simple and more sincere religion, but it had

much to do also with the unfolding of the mind of post-exilic Israel. The synagogue was the real fashioner of Judaism, giving it a sanity and spirituality that were the fertile soil on which the teachings of Christianity found a ready growth. And its simplicity and democracy made it the one religious institution of its time which could attract true souls of all races; and make it "a house of prayer for all peoples." When the Temple finally fell, it was the synagogue that from that day forward became the one supreme element in Judaism; and to this our day the one force that has kept alive the true faith in Jewish hearts amid persecution and trial. Its three cardinal ideas were loyalty to the Law, the unity of God and the Kingdom of God.

Moreover the synagogue became the pattern for the early church. Many of the Pauline churches were started in the synagogues, and the records we possess of the apostolic age show how closely these churches adhered to the synagogue in organization and worship.

III. Temple and Synagogue

But we must remember that through all this interbiblical period the Temple and the Synagogue existed side by side, even in Jerusalem while the Temple was in its highest glory. So it must needs be that these two institutions satisfied two divergent tendencies in the spiritual aspirations of humanity. For one desires pomp,

form, color, music ritual—the æsthetic and emotional elements of worship; the other longs for instruction, inspiration, direction—the intellectual and practical qualities of religious life.

In a very real sense this divergence persists in Christianity today; and Temple and Synagogue are represented, respectively, in our liturgical and non-liturgical churches. In the one we find the altar still retained and centralized in the sanctuary; the mass or the ritual substituted for the sacrifice; the procession of robed priests and acolytes of the Temple remaining unchanged; and the smoke of incense, the pageantry of dress and the glamour of color, the soothing murmur of monotonous chants, the occasional simple responses of the congregation retained just as in the past. In the other we find the pulpit and not the altar in the focus of the building; the sermon exalted above the service; simple Scripture reading, congregational hymns, and informal prayers replacing the liturgy. And in the prayer, Scripture, psalm, sermon and benediction of the Synagogue are the common elements of the services of all the non-liturgical churches of Christendom. It seems reasonable to conclude that Temple and Synagogue were the progenitors of these two groups of churches in Christendom; and that so long as these two tendencies and desires in human souls when seeking God remain, these two divergent types of worship will continue.

CHAPTER V

THE LITERATURE OF THE ERA

Law and Lore

HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF INTERBIBLICAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF HISTORY	EVENTS IN JUDAISM	CANONICAL LITERATURE	EXTRA-CANONICAL LITERATURE
I. Persian Rule (527–332 B. C.)	Restoration of Jerusalem and Establishment of Judaism	Haggai Zechariah Malachi Ruth Joel Job Jonah Genesis II Kings Proverbs	
II. Greek Rule (372–320)	The Dispersion		Talmud (400 B. C.–200 A. D.)
III. Egyptian Rule (320–198)	Septuagint Translation	Song of Songs Ecclesiastes Chronicles—Ezra Nehemiah—Esther	Ecclesiasticus Letter of Aristeas I Baruch
IV. Syrian Rule (198–143)	Rise of Maccabees Rededication of Temple	Daniel Psalms	Prayer of Menasses Tobit Judith
V. Jewish Independence (143–63)	Simon (143–135) John Hyrcanus (135–105) Aristobulus (105–104) Alexander Jannæus (104–78) Alexandra (78–69) Civil War (69–63)		Epistle of Jeremy Appendix to Esther I Esdras I Enoch (170–64 B. C.) I Maccabees Wisdom of Solomon Testaments of XII Patriarchs Book of Jubilees Additions to Daniel
VI. Roman Rule (63–37)	Pompey in Syria Battle of Pharsalia (48) Assassination of Cæsar (44)		Sibylline Oracles Psalms of Solomon II Maccabees III Maccabees
VII. Herodian Rule (37 B. C.–44 A. D.)	Building of Temple Birth of Jesus Apostolic Age		IV Maccabees Assumption of Moses II Enoch II Baruch II Esdras

CHAPTER V

THE LITERATURE OF THE ERA

Law and Lore

A GLANCE at the Chart of History and Literature will show clearly that these "silent centuries" were productive of a large and varied literature, and one which is by no means to be despised as valueless. The first four epochs were marked by the creation of some of the masterpieces of our Old Testament, and the completion in their present form of several of its most important books. The discussion of these books of our Bible, the canonical literature, has no place here, so these next chapters will be confined to a consideration of the extra-canonical literature, those books which are not a part of our Protestant Bible.

They are divided by scholars into two main groups, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. The Apocrypha consists of a collection of fifteen books, which has in whole or in part been at some time included by the Jewish and Christian church in the Bible. The Hebrew canon of Scripture excluded it; the Greek version, or Septuagint, included it. The Catholic Church includes it in its version, and all the earlier English trans-

lators of the Protestant church retained it, even the earliest edition of the Authorized Version containing the Apocrypha. Then it came under discussion in the Puritan Era, and was by the Westminster Confession placed under the ban. Still, however, it continued to be included in many later editions, until by vote of the British Bible Society it was finally excluded in 1827. The reasons for this varied treatment are not consistent or clear, but this final exclusion of the Apocrypha seems to have been based upon the idea that its books are inferior to our Old Testament, coming out of a period when divine revelation had ceased. Such a view is untenable, for there is much of moral and spiritual value in these books; and we now know how large a part they played in shaping the thought and language of our New Testament writers. The names of the books of the Apocrypha are as follows: I Esdras, II Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Appendix to Esther, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Epistle of Jeremy, Song of the Three Children, History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, I Maccabees, II Maccabees.

The Pseudepigrapha is a collection of books which never found its way into the canon, but was much read by the Jewish people in this period, and had a profound influence. Its quoted words and phrases fill our whole New Testament, even more than those of the Apocryphal

books. Its name is derived from the fact that these are writings under an assumed name. The majority of these books are apocalyptic in character. The chief reason for their pseudonymity is that the canon of the Prophets was closed about 200 B. C., and by this act inspiration was officially declared at an end. So any books of prophetic style or nature written after this date had to be written under the names of earlier Jewish leaders to give them any currency or acceptance. Daniel was the first of these pseudonymous books; which, after much discussion, was admitted to the canon. But the other pseudepigrapha were never recognized by the Jewish church. The names of the twelve books in this collection are as follows: III Maccabees, Book of Jubilees, Psalms of Solomon, Letter of Aristeas, IV Maccabees, I Enoch, II Enoch, Sibylline Oracles, II Esdras, II Baruch, Assumption of Moses, Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs.

Taking this literature as a whole—Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha—it will be found easier to understand if we reclassify it on the basis of literary character into the new grouping which follows:

I. Classification of Literature of Period of Connections

(1) *Law.*

Talmudic Codes and Commentaries—"Mishna" and "Gemara."

(2) *History.*
I Maccabees.
I Esdras.

(3) *Legend and Fiction.*
Talmudic Legends and Stories—"Haggada."
Tobit.
Judith.
Appendix to Esther.
History of Susanna.
Bel and the Dragon.
II Maccabees.
III Maccabees.

(4) *Poetry.*
I Baruch.
Song of the Three Children.
Psalms of Solomon.
Prayer of Manasses.

(5) *Didactic Literature.*
Ecclesiasticus (Wisdom of Sirach).
Letter of Aristeas.
Epistle of Jeremy.
Wisdom of Solomon.
Book of Jubilees.
IV Maccabees.

(6) *Apocalypse.*
Testaments of XII Patriarchs.
Sibylline Oracles.
I Enoch (Ethiopic Book of Enoch).
Assumption of Moses.

II Enoch (Slavonic Book of Enoch or Secrets of Enoch).
II Baruch (Apocalypse of Baruch).
II (or III) Esdras (Apocalypse of Ezra).

From the above list we shall select first for examination its Law and Lore—Groups 1 and 5.

II. Legal Literature

The legal literature of these centuries between the Testaments is compiled (together with much other literature of the Christian Era) in that encyclopedic work of conservative Jewish scholarship known as the Talmud. The word means "teaching" or "instruction." It was the product of many generations, a gradual accretion of learning; begun in the time of Ezra, and not completed until the sixth century A. D. It is a mirror of the thought of Israel's teachers and scholars for many centuries; and in it the voices of all types of humanity are heard—sage and artisan, theologian and man of affairs, story-teller and lawyer. It represents a thousand years of discussion. It contains ethics, law, poetry, prayer, ritual, sermons, folk-lore, scriptural commentary and theology. Beginning with the work of the "Great Assembly" of Ezra, the scribes and Rabbis, zealous to guard the treasures of divine precept given them in the Old Testament, began what one of these scholars called the process of "making a hedge about the

Law." The result was the creation of a religious rule, called "*Halakah*" (that by which one walks), which finally numbered thousands, dealing in minute detail with expositions of the precepts and words of the Old Testament.

An excellent illustration of the way *Halakah* was created is found by Dr. Burney in Col. 1:15–18. Here Paul is using that method of Scriptural exposition (*Halakah*), which he learned as a Rabbi and never quite outgrew. He has just said (vs. 15) that Christ is "the first-born of all creation," and this seemingly recalls the opening words of Genesis, "In the beginning" (Gen. 1:1). The rest of the passage is just such an involved and elaborate unfolding of that simple phrase as the creators of the Talmud used. "*In*" may have three meanings—"in," "by" and "into." So Paul says that "in him were all things created," "by him" and "unto him." The word "*beginning*" may also mean four different things—the origin, the sum-total, the head, and the first-fruits. So the apostle says that Christ is the one who is "before all things" (origin), that "in him all things consist" (sum-total); he is "the head of the church" (head) and the "first-born from the dead" (first-fruits).

These "*Halakoth*" were finally combined to form the Oral Law or "Mishna" ("repetition" or "second law"); and this was combined with the written Law or Pentateuch and finally com-

piled about 200 A. D. The "Mishna" comprised six "Orders," each devoted to a special class of subjects. The Orders were divided into "Tractates" (or sections) of which there were sixty-three. The Tractates were again subdivided into 525 chapters, and all arranged in logical order.

To this was added the "*Gemara*" (completion) which was a commentary on the Mishna, containing the discussions and decisions of generations of scribes and Rabbis debating on the minutiæ of the Law, written and oral.

This is interspersed with a vast number of stories or homilies—vivid, entertaining and sometimes humorous in character. This was called the "*Haggada*" ("tale") and consisted of a most varied hodge-podge of "homiletics, maxims and sayings of illustrious men, mystical expositions of angels and demons, paradise and hell, Messiah and Prince of Darkness, poetical allegories, symbolic interpretations, charming parables, witty remarks, amazing legends, colorful sketches of Biblical and national heroes, philosophical essays and satires." This *Haggada* seems to have been intended to relieve the prosaic monotony of the vast mass of precepts and ordinances of the Mishna.

Taken together these three—*Mishna*, *Gemara* and *Haggada*—make up the Talmud, of which there were two editions. The Jerusalem Talmud reached its final form about 400

A. D., but large portions of it are now lost. The Babylonian Talmud is more complete (about four times larger than the Jerusalem Talmud), and was completed about 500 A. D. This more complete edition is the one to which reference is made today when speaking of the Talmud. This Babylonian Talmud is very voluminous, occupying 2,947 folio leaves in present editions. Both Talmuds were written originally in Aramaic.

Of this huge book we shall consider here only the strictly legal part of the Talmud—the *Mishna* and *Gemara;* and we find here a system of laws regulating every detail of daily life and all forms of human conduct. Minute, endless, detailed, it regulated every act, prescribed its exact performance. The simple enactments of the Mosaic code which were principles of living were expanded into an elaborate, complex and burdensome system of regulations.

To make this clear let us consider the Talmudic laws of the Sabbath. In the Pentateuch all the legalation on this subject is comprised in the limits of about four (4) octavo pages. In the Talmud it consists of 156 double pages of folio, or it in other words is about 300 times as large in bulk. This Sabbath law consists of twenty-four chapters of minute regulations and ordinances. Its main purpose is to discuss and define what is set forth in the fourth command of the Decalogue, prohibiting *work* on the Sabbath. Thirty-

nine kinds of prohibited work are enumerated. Then the Mishna seeks to define with scrupulous exactitude just what constitutes "work," and what may and may not be permitted.

For example, "carrying" is forbidden. After much discussion the maximum of weight which might be "carried" was settled as that of a dried fig. But if half a fig were carried at two different times, were these two acts to be combined into one and constitute a sin? And if so, under what condition as to place, state of mind, etc.? "Throwing" an object was forbidden. Whether, if an object were thrown into the air with the left hand and caught with the right, it involved sin, was a nice question; but there was no debate that if the object were caught in the mouth, there was no guilt, since the object having been eaten no longer existed. Similarly another section says: "He who has the toothache may not rinse his teeth with vinegar and spit it out again, for this would be to apply a medicine; but he may wash them with the vinegar and then swallow it, as this is but taking food."

Minute regulations are given as to dressing on the Sabbath morning so as to be sure not to wear anything which might tempt to some form of labor. A woman must not go out with ornaments or pins or necklaces or rings, lest in her vanity she might take them off to show to a friend and replace them, which would be "work" and so a sin. Women were also forbidden to look

in a mirror on the Sabbath because they might discover a white hair and try to pull it out, which would be a grievous sin.

Also on the Sabbath only such things were to be eaten as had been expressly prepared on a week-day for Sabbath use. Nearly fifty such cases in which foods are forbidden are enumerated. Thus if a laying hen had laid on the Sabbath day, the egg was forbidden, because it had not been prepared beforehand for use; but if the hen was not kept for laying but for fattening, the egg might be eaten, as forming part of the hen which had fallen off!

Twenty-four chapters are filled with such absurd casuistry, such endless and minute regulations, such burdensome rules for each detail of the Sabbath. And when we remember that in the balance of the Talmudic law, of which this is but a small part, contracts, fasts, feasts, torts, marriage, tithes, hygiene, are dealt with in similar minute detail, we can well understand why Christ declared that they had made the Law meaningless by their tradition; and can appreciate that grewsomely realistic figure of Paul as he terms the traditional law a rotting corpse to which he was bound, and from which plight he prayed for deliverance (Romans 7:24).

III. Didactic Literature

The wisdom literature of the Old Testament embodied the collected sayings of the sages of old

Israel, who had existed since the days of David. This literature comes to us in the form of proverbs, essays and the like, elaborated into artistic and involved literary structures. This is the nearest approach to philosophy we find in the Old Testament; not speculative as among the Greeks, but shrewd practical wisdom gleaned from daily life. The completion of the canonical books of wisdom—Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the didactic psalms and Job—took place in this period between the Testaments.

The spirit and traditions of these canonical books of wisdom continued on into the extra-canonical wisdom literature, where it was supplemented by other didactic books which had similar purposes and aims.

Ecclesiasticus.

This book is properly termed "The Wisdom of Jesus, The Son of Sirach." It received its title "Ecclesiasticus," or "church-book," because it was long used in the Christian Church in the teaching of young Christians. It is twice as long as the Book of Proverbs, and very similar in style, containing many brief sentential sayings and scores of little essays in practical ethics. Like Proverbs it treats of many themes, but its burden is Wisdom. It even contains a manual of etiquette. A broad and tolerant spirit, possibly derived from Greek influence which had invaded Palestine where it was written, pervades the whole book and it abounds in fine and quot-

able passages: "He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled" (13:1); "Nothing can ever be taken in exchange for a true friend"; "Do no evil, so shall no evil overtake thee" (7:1). Here is the Golden Rule in another form: "Judge of thy neighbor by thyself" (31:15). The passage in 50:22–4 which begins "Now therefore bless ye the God of all," was set to music in the German chorale: "Now Thank We All Our God." Its teaching on forgiveness preludes that of the Master: "Forgive thy neighbor the hurt he hath done to thee, so shall thy sins be forgiven when thou prayest." And surely deserving a place in our canonical Scriptures, enforcing as its words do the gospel of labor taught by the Carpenter of Nazareth, is this "Ode of the Common Task":

"Let us now praise famous men,
Even the artificer and workmaster,
That passeth his time by night as by day;
They that cut gravings of signets,
And his diligence is to make great variety;
He setteth his heart to preserve likeness in his portraiture,
And is wakeful to finish his work.

So is the smith sitting by the anvil,
And considering the unwrought iron:
The vapour of the fire wasteth his flesh,
And in the heat of the furnace doth he wrestle with his work;

The noise of the hammer is ever in his ear,
And his eyes are upon the pattern of the vessel;
He setteth his heart upon perfecting his works,
And is wakeful to adorn them perfectly.

So is the potter sitting at his work,
And turning the wheel about with his feet,
Who is always anxiously set at his work,
And all his handiwork is by measure;
He fashioneth the clay with his arm,
And bendeth its strength in front of his feet;
He applieth his heart to finish the glazing,
And is wakeful to make clean the furnace.

All these put their trust in their hands,
And each becometh wise in his own work.
Yea, though they be not sought for in the council of the people,
Nor be exalted in the assembly;
Though they sit not on the seat of the judge,
Nor understand the covenant of judgment;
Though they declare not instruction and judgment,
And be not found among them that utter dark sayings:
Yet without these shall not a city be inhabited,
Nor shall men sojourn or walk up and down therein.
For these maintain the fabric of the world,
And in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer."

Noble and majestic and increasingly used in funeral services to be read by the caskets of our great leaders is this grand "Hymn of the Forefathers":

"Let us now praise famous men,
By whom the Lord hath wrought great glory.
Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms,
And were men renowned for their power,
Giving counsel by their understanding,
Such as have brought tidings in prophecies:
Leaders of the people by their counsels,
And by their understanding men of learning for the people;
Wise were their words in their instruction:
Such as sought out musical tunes,
And set forth verses in writing:
Men richly furnished with ability,
Living peaceably in their habitations:
All these were honoured in their generations,
And were the glory of their times.
Yea, they were men of mercy,
Whose righteous deeds have not been forgotten.
Their bodies were buried in peace,
But their name liveth for evermore.
For the memorial of virtue is immortal;
Because it is known with God and with men.
When it is present, men take example of it;
And when it is gone, they desire it:
And throughout all time it marcheth crowned in triumph,
Victorious in the strife for the prizes that are undefiled.
Therefore will the people tell of their wisdom,
And the congregation will shew forth their praise."

Letter of Aristeas.

This is not a true letter, spontaneous and natural, but a literary epistle, a work of art, writ-

ten for public use. It purports to be written by Aristeas, an officer at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus in Egypt, to his brother Philocrates. In an entertaining way and in dramatic fashion it professes to tell him the story of the way in which the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into the Greek by order of the Egyptian monarch. It narrates that seventy learned Rabbis were placed on the island of Pharos in seventy separate cells, and in seventy days each produced his separate version, and when they were compared, lo, they all agreed perfectly even to every letter! The book is really a purely legendary account of the origin of the famous Septuagint, written for purposes of Jewish propaganda. For seemingly coming from the heathen lips of Aristeas, this story is followed by a very fulsome eulogy of the Jewish scriptures and Law. It was intended to glorify the Hebrew religion and seems to have been widely circulated. Josephus quotes it in his "Antiquities."

The Epistle of Jeremy.

This purports to have been written by Jeremiah to the Exiles in Babylon, but was actually written long after his day, when the Jews who had remained behind in Babylon after the Return had adopted the customs of the land, assumed Babylonian names and were turning to the Babylonian religion. In this book the writer uses ridicule and sarcasm in a most telling fash-

ion; not attacking idolatry so much as holding it up to scorn as absurd and valueless; its idols being made by human hands and having no power to benefit their worshippers. This didactic epistle, whose purpose is obvious, was ascribed to Jeremiah, to give its words more power and authority.

The Book of Jubilees.

From the closing days of the Maccabees there comes to us this book which may be truly termed the apotheosis of the Law. It was written in Palestine in the Golden Age of the Maccabees under John Hyrcanus, and is from the pen of an ardent Pharisee who defends and glorifies the Law. In form it is a Haggadic commentary on Genesis and the early part of Exodus, and was often called "The Little Genesis." It contains the narratives of Genesis, rewritten from the Pharisaic point of view; just as in our Old Testament the Chronicler rewrites Samuel–Kings from a priestly standpoint. Its style is strange and often grotesque. It purports to tell the inside story of Creation as it was given to Moses by "The Angel of the Face." The history from the creation to the exodus is rearranged according to an artificial chronology of fifty "jubilees" of forty-nine years each; and it is from this that the book derives its name. It makes much of fasts and feasts and Sabbaths and ceremonies, exalting them as of supreme importance and making

them sacrosanct. The author triumphantly proves the eternity and divinity of the Law, which he declares had been kept in heaven from the dawn of time by the angels, and was first revealed at the creation. And the sun he affirms was created primarily not to give light, but to mark the time of the feasts prescribed by the Law. This intensely legalistic book gives us a clear picture of the idolatrous reverence with which the Pharisaism of that era regarded the Jewish Law. It was written when Hellenism was disputing with Pharisaism in Palestine for supremacy, and when many Jews had been Hellenized, and its purpose was to recall them to the old faith.

IV Maccabees.

The curious book of IV Maccabees is a philosophical treatise cast somewhat in the form of a sermon. It is a panegyric of "spiritual reason," and both the theme and language of the book are derived from Stoicism. The Jews of the writer's day, as through all this period, were constantly being taunted by the heathen on the crudity and unreasonableness of their rites and ceremonies. The author is seeking to show that the Law, on which they were based, is essentially in accord with reason. He describes his concept of "spiritual reason" as intelligence and integrity of life in one, and describes the four cardinal virtues which it creates. Then he contrasts his "spiritual reason" with human sen-

sualism, sentiment and emotion, and proves its vast superiority. All this philosophical discussion occupies the first part of the book. The latter part is a series of incidents drawn from II Maccabees, setting forth the Maccabean martyrs as examples of this "spiritual reason." Metaphor, declamation and realistic description abound. It is a striking example of the use of history for didactic purposes. It is this latter part of the book, which has no real historical value, that gave the book its title.

The Wisdom of Solomon.

This is the finest book of this didactic literature and is often called "The Gem of the Apocrypha." The author assumes the rôle of Solomon (like the author of Ecclesiastes) and sets forth his philosophy of life under that pseudonym in five elaborate essays. The same problems are dealt with that form the burden of Ecclesiastes, but the author goes far beyond the earlier book because of his belief in immortality which gives him a view of life in the perspective of eternity. The book was written in Egypt by an Alexandrian Jew of high culture, and its Greek is the pure classic Greek; its rhetorical style is beautiful and stately. The author had evidently been under the touch of Greek thought, notably that of Stoicism. The purpose is plain. The Jews were scattered among heathen people everywhere and subject constantly to the temptations of pagan life and the

fascination of Greek culture. The book was intended to strengthen their loyalty to the Hebrew religion by showing that the wisdom of the Hebrew sages is superior to Greek philosophy. All the universe is interpenetrated by a Divine Wisdom which is immanent in God, so no man-made philosophy can equal it. The Hymn "In Praise of Wisdom" is as fine as anything in Greek literature, and is a masterpiece of exalted thought.

"Wisdom! there is in her a spirit of quick understanding, holy,
Alone in kind, manifold,
Subtile, freely moving,
Clear in utterance, unpolluted,
Distinct, unharmed,
Loving what is good, keen, unhindered,
Beneficent, loving toward man,
Stedfast, sure, free from care,
All-powerful, all-surveying,
And penetrating through all spirits
That are quick of understanding, pure, most subtile:
For wisdom is more mobile than any motion;
Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pureness.
For she is a breath of the power of God,
And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty;
Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
For she is an effulgence from everlasting light,
And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,

And an image of his goodness.
And she, being one, hath power to do all things;
And remaining in herself, reneweth all things:
And from generation to generation passing into holy souls
She maketh men friends of God, and prophets.
For nothing doth God love save him that dwelleth with wisdom.
For she is fairer than the sun,
And above all the constellations of the stars:
Being compared with light, she is found to be before it." (7:22–29.)

The book is full of noble passages: "By singleness of heart alone is God found," "The pure shall live with God"; "Thou sparest all, for they are thine, O Sovereign Lord, thou Lover of Souls" (May it be that Charles Wesley caught here the inspiration for his immortal hymn?); "Thine incorruptible spirit, O Lord, is in all things." And especially noteworthy are the words of this book regarding immortality: "To know thy power is the root of immortality"; "For God made not death, neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living"; "For righteousness is immortal"; "*For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity.*" What a pity that this last beautiful text is not in our present Bible!

But one great chapter in this book in which this vision of the Eternal Hope is clearest has

been made familiar to generations of worshippers in the Church of England by its long use in its cathedrals when the faithful dead are commemorated:

"But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God
And there shall no torment touch them,
In the eyes of the foolish they seem to have died,
And their departure is accounted to their hurt,
And their going from us to mean their destruction,
But they are at peace,
And their hope is full of immortality."
(3:1–4.)

Such majestic words come very near to that sublime faith which finds expression in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians. It is no wonder that this apocryphal book has through the centuries been prized and loved by both Jew and Christian.

CHAPTER VI

THE LITERATURE OF THE ERA

Song and Story

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I. Poetical Literature

THE poetical genius which flowered in the great classics of the Old Testament seems to have largely lost its bloom in this intermediate epoch. There was but little poetry written in this time, nor was it as a whole of so high a standard of literary excellence.

The Book of Baruch, or I Baruch.

This is a pseudonymous work purporting to be written in Babylon by Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, during the early days of the Exile, which fact is set forth in the prose introduction (1:1–14). The remainder of the book is in verse and consists of a long Confessional Prayer (1:15; 3:8) (part of which is so strikingly like Daniel 9:7–19 that scholars are perplexed to know which is the original); a panegyric on wisdom (3:9–4:4); and a Song of Consolation (4:5; 5:9) which begins "Be of good cheer, my people," and reaches a climax (5:5–9) which for literary beauty and power ranks with the Psalter and Second Isaiah, and in which the author's theme is cast in these words:

"For my hope is in the Everlasting that he will save you,
And joy is come unto me from the Holy One
Because of the mercy which shall come from the Everlasting, our Saviour."

The book was probably written during the days of the early Ptolemies, the original being in Hebrew and later translated into Greek. Its literary excellence and spiritual fervor gained it general acceptance among both Jews and Christians and in all the early Christian collections of Scripture for the first four hundred years of our era this book was included with Jeremiah as part of the canon.

Prayer of Manasses.

The shortest of all the Apocrypha is "The Prayer of Manasses," and it was often regarded as an appendix to the Book of Chronicles, where it is recorded that he suffered punishment by captivity for his sins, repented and was restored (II Chron. 33:11–13). It is a fine penitential prayer, with a dignity, simplicity, and deep earnestness that make it well worthy of the place it long held in Christian collections of Scripture as a part of the Psalter. It is represented as offered by Manasses while captive in Babylon. The book was probably written in the first century B. C.

The Song of the Three Children.

In the Apocrypha three brief books are

grouped together under the title of "Additions to Daniel," and sometimes classified as one book. As the apocryphal gospels sought to expand and embellish the brief records of the canonical gospels regarding Jesus' life, so these apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel seek to amplify and supplement its narrative. Two of these books are in prose—"The Story of Susanna" and "Bel and the Dragon," and will be considered later in this chapter. The third is in verse and is entitled "The Song of the Three Holy Children."

It is an elaboration of the story in the Book of Daniel of the three who walked unhurt in the fiery furnace. As in the Book of Jonah there is put into Jonah's mouth, in the belly of the fish, a prayer for deliverance, so here upon these men's lips is put a prayer and a hymn. The names of the three are changed from the Babylonian form in Daniel to their Hebrew form, and become Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. The first part of the book is the Prayer of Azariah (vs. 1–22) whose language is that of a national rather than a personal petition. A brief prose interlude follows (vs. 23–27), expanding and exaggerating the brief words of Daniel 3:23. It tells how the king's servants poured naphtha and pitch on the fire until it was seven times hotter and the flames streamed out above the furnace forty-nine cubits (75 feet) high. Then an angel came down and created an

inner zone of cool revolving air so that the flames could not touch them.

The book then closes with the "Hymn of Adoration" or the "Song of the Three Children (vs. 26–68), in which the writer apostrophizes all the works of God and calls on them to praise the Lord—angels, sun, moon and stars, heavens, frost and snow, light and darkness, clouds and lightnings, animate nature and mankind. The poem closely resembles Psalm 136. As it began with the words, "Blessed art thou, O Lord," the hymn became known as the "Benedicite" (the Latin word for "Blessed" in the Vulgate), and has been used for centuries in the liturgies of Christendom. There is a solemn beauty in its oft-repeated decalogues with their haunting refrain—"Praise and exalt him above all forever." Kingsley writes of it: "It is like the monotony of the winds and waves and powerfully suggests to the imagination the amplitude and splendor of God's world by the sublimity of its universal chorus of praise."

The authorship and date of the book are still unsettled but it probably came to us out of the early Maccabean Era from a Palestinian Jew.

The Psalms of Solomon.

Out of the time of the Roman invasion of Palestine by Pompey (63 B. C.) there comes to us the collection of eighteen psalms which bears the name "The Psalms of Solomon," but

should be properly called "The Psalms of the Pharisees," since these psalms were written by Pharisaic authors between 70 and 40 B. C. in the name of Solomon. The times were hard for the Pharisees. The Jewish rulers of the moment were very rightly regarded as corrupt and blasphemous usurpers of kingship and high priesthood. At the same time the Roman invader was at the gates of Jerusalem, and his harshness and cruelty as he captured the city stirred up indignation and fear. So these psalms were partly concerned with indignant protests against their rulers; and partly with the expression of the emotions kindled by Pompey's invasion. Especially passionate is the second psalm, a pæan of joy and triumph over Pompey's death on the seashore of Egypt. And full of burning indignation is psalm four, which is directed against the Sadducean party who are called hypocrites and profane. The author also voices the distinctive doctrines of Pharisaism—the ideals of theocracy and the resurrection.

The last two psalms are of special interest, for they depict the coming of the Messiah. With an intensity of longing which can be plainly felt, the author asserts the imminence of the coming of a King of David's line, who shall drive out both Roman and Sadducee and bring back the glorious vanished kingdom to Israel. He is to avenge the wrongs of the nation as a militant Messiah:

"Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king
the son of David,
At the time which thou seest, O God, that he may
reign over Israel, thy servant,
And gird him with strength that he may shatter un-
righteous rulers,
And that he may purge Jerusalem from the nations
that trample her down to destruction."
(17:23–25.)

He is to drive out all the heathen (17:31) from Jerusalem and then destroy all the heathen nations by his mighty word. We thus see that the Messiah for whom this ardent Pharisee was looking was not a Prince of Peace but a Man of War. All this is of peculiar interest because these psalms were written just prior to the Christian Era, and reflect very clearly the expectation of the Messiah held and taught by the Pharisees in this and the succeeding generations so that it became the idea of the masses of the Jews in Jesus' day.

II. Legendary Literature

II Maccabees.

This book bears about the same relation to I Maccabees that Chronicles bears to Samuel–Kings. It is history in a sense, but yet history so mingled with legend, and colored by a certain didactic purpose that it is not true history. It glorifies and magnifies the earlier narratives,

lacks perspective, is full of errors and distortions, is floridly rhetorical rather than soberly accurate. Moreover, the book only covers a limited period of the Maccabean history (171–161 B. C.). So it is not a sequel of I Maccabees, but a highly-colored rhetorical composition, with a running commentary upon a portion of the earlier work. It declares itself to be the digest of a larger work in five volumes by Jason of Cyrene, of whom we know nothing.

The book was probably written by a Pharisee in the early Roman Era. It exalts the law and the feasts, is rigid in its Sabbatarianism and teaches the doctrine of the resurrection. Many scholars regard I and II Maccabees as partisan writings; the first being written by a Sadducee who ardently espoused the Maccabean rulers; the second by a Pharisee who was strongly opposed to them. There is much in this latter book that supports this theory, for the bias of the author against the Maccabees is plainly in evidence.

III Maccabees.

This book we find cast even more in the form of legend than II Maccabees. There is but slight historical basis for the book, if any. It narrates the story of how Ptolemy Philopator, after defeating Antiochus the Great at Raphia, conceived the idea of visiting Jerusalem and invading the Holy of Holies. But when he attempted to do so, the High Priest, Simon, fell

on his knees in prayer in the doorway; and Ptolemy was stricken with paralysis when he tried to pass the priest and was borne back to Egypt. When he recovered, he vowed to massacre all the Jews in Egypt and, as a preliminary, ordered all their names to be taken down. After forty days' work at this task the scribes had exhausted all the writing-materials in Alexandria and were not half done. Impatient, the king precipitated the holocaust, and ordered his four hundred elephants, who had been intoxicated with wine and incense, to be let loose upon the assembled Jews to trample them down. At this crucial hour Eleazar the venerable priest prayed to God, and suddenly two angels appeared from heaven; and in panic terror the elephants turned and trampled down all the king's army instead of their intended victims. In fear and repentence the king revoked his decree and gave all the Jews a seven days' feast at his expense and sent them back to their homes, rejoicing at their deliverance.

Of all this colorful narrative there is no trace in history, but a certain legend of an earlier king in Egypt which Josephus finally records, may have been its basis. This book is pure legend, designed, like Esther, to satisfy by its poetic justice the constant longing of the Jewish people under their conquerors for a righting of their wrongs.

So the book is evidently an attempt of some

Jewish author to encourage his fellow countrymen in times of persecution. It was written in pure Greek and probably at Alexandria. Many of the classic forms of Greek poetry are used, and there are words reminiscent of Alexandrian Greek philosophy. The title III Maccabees is an utter misnomer, for the book deals wholly with events long before the Maccabean Era.

III. Fiction

Tobit.

Two charming romances are found in the Apocrypha—Tobit and Judith. The first is an idyllic picture of home life in the days of the Captivity. It is a strange story indeed, full of magic and angels and demons.

Tobit, a pious Jew, with his wife Anna, and son Tobias, was taken to Nineveh as a captive by Shalmaneser. For a time he prospered, but finally fell under royal disfavor, was reduced to poverty and became blind. Reproached by his wife for his blindness, in despair he prayed to die.

Meanwhile in far off Ecbatana of Media, Sarah, a daughter of Raguel, cousin of Tobit, who had been married seven times, but each of whose husbands had died on the wedding night, was accused by a maid of having slain them. But the truth was she was possessed by Asmodeus, the arch-demon, and he had killed these men. And in despair Sarah also prayed to die.

Both prayers were heard, and Raphael, the arch-angel, was sent to help both Tobit and Sarah. Coming to Tobit's house, Raphael assumes the name and guise of Azarias, a kinsman of Tobit, and offers his services as guide to Tobias whom his father is sending to Media. On the way Tobias catches a magic fish, and on Raphael's advice, keeps the heart and liver which had power to exorcise demons, and the gall to cure blindness. Arriving in Media, they come to Raguel's house. Tobias falls in love with Sarah and asks her hand in marriage. On the wedding-night the burning of the heart and liver of the fish drives Asmodeus away defeated; and Tobias and Sarah pass the night in prayer. Meanwhile Raguel has dug a grave in the night for his latest son-in-law. And in the morning he is amazed and delighted to find him alive and his daughter freed from the demon. Tobias and Sarah receive half of Raguel's wealth and depart with Raphael for home. Arriving there Tobias applies the gall of the magic fish to his father's eyes, and his sight is restored. In warm gratitude to the supposed Azarias, they urge upon him half their wealth. But he reveals his identity and returns to heaven. The book closes with a prayer of thanksgiving and the dying Tobit's benediction.

The book is of especial interest because of the light it throws on current Jewish beliefs regarding angels and demons. It is obviously a

pure fiction, reminding one strongly in its charming simplicity of the Arabian Nights Tales. The author of Tobit has drawn on several current traditions—the story of Ahikar, a myth of Sennacherib's day, a tractate of the Egyptian demigod Khons, who heals a demon-possessed princess of Ecbatana. The book was written probably in the Syrian Era. It is interesting to note that it contains the Golden Rule in a negative form—"What thou hatest, do not to another" (4:15). Phrases from this love-story of old Israel were long used in the Marriage Service of the Church of England.

Judith.

This is a romance with a political motif, a piece of historical fiction written with a view of evoking the spirit of patriotism and encouraging the Jews to resist the increasing pressure of the Syrian power, which at the time of its writing (168 B. C.) was beginning its cruel oppressions.

The story is placed in the time of the return from the Exile. Nebuchadnezzar made war against Arphaxad of Medea and was victorious. The next year he sent Holofernes, his general, with 130,000 men, to lay waste the lands in the West which had refused him help. Coming to Palestine, Holofernes invested Bethulia, and when, after a long siege, the people were desperate with starvation, the Jewish leaders promised to surrender in five days. At this crisis Judith, a rich young widow, taking her life and

honor in her hands, made her way to Holofernes at his camp; captivated him by her charms and beauty, and then, as he lay in a drunken stupor after a banquet in her honor, beheaded him and carried his head back to Bethulia to the Jewish captains. She was no Delilah, but kept her purity and risked her life for the sake of patriotism. The sequel of this exploit was that confusion fell upon the leaderless army, and they were put to rout and slaughtered by the Jews; while Judith was richly rewarded and honored, and lived to the ripe old age of 105 years.

The book is a pure romance, written with consummate literary skill, simple, natural, vivid, dramatic. It has delighted its readers in all generations. From its perusal the great Venetian artist, Tintoretto, derived the inspiration for his great canvas—"Judith and Holofernes." But it is romance with a purpose. If it be true that it was written to encourage the Jews in the same hour that produced the Book of Daniel, it may likewise be cryptic in character, and hold veiled behind its names the characters of that era. Thus it would be intelligible to the Jew, but meaningless to the Syrian. On this view Nebuchadnezzar = Antiochus Epiphanes, Holofernes = Nicanor, Bethulia = Jerusalem; and Judith may in a sense = Judas Maccabeus.

Whatever be the explanation of its historical setting or purpose, the book possesses an intrin-

sic charm with its story of the patriotic fervor and breath-taking daring of the beautiful heroine, and the success of her great exploit for her country.

Appendix to Esther.

From the time of its production the canonical Book of Esther has been felt by many to have no rightful place in the Bible because of its omission of the name of God. This defect and the non-religious character of the book in general it was sought to rectify by "The Appendix to Esther." In the Apocrypha it is headed "The Rest of the Chapters of the Book of Esther," and is accordingly denominated as chapters 10–16. In the Septuagint and Vulgate it was so incorporated in the canonical book of Esther.

It adds many details to our Biblical book, notably some attempted reproductions of the text of the edicts of the king and his letter to his subjects. There is also likewise added the prayer of Mordecai for the Jews and the prayer of Esther for herself and her people. In these the name of God occurs again and again, obviously in an attempt to give a religious tone to the Book of Esther and so make it more acceptable. The vocabulary and illusions would indicate that this "Appendix" was written in the Maccabean Era.

History of Susanna.

To the Book of Daniel, as already noted,

there are in the Apocrypha two prose additions, the first one being a romance entitled "The History of Susanna." Although this story has not the slightest connection with the canonical book of Daniel, except in the use of his name, it was added by both the Septuagint and Vulgate to chapter 13 of the book.

The story is laid in the early days of the Captivity. Susanna, a beautiful Jewish matron, was seen walking in her husband's garden by two elders, who held the honored position of judges; and who, influenced by lust, made evil proposals to her, and upon her repulsion of them, brought against her the charge of adultery. She was brought before the assembly of the people for trial and upon their false accusation, believed because of their high place in Israel, she was condemned to death.

Suddenly, a young man named Daniel came upon the scene and cried: "Are ye such fools, ye sons of Israel, that without examination or knowledge of the whole truth ye have condemned a daughter of Israel? Return again to the place of judgment, for these men have borne false witness against her." Then by a shrewd and merciless cross-examination, Daniel exposed the lust and falsehood of the two elders, and they were condemned and put to death. And the book ends with these words, "From that day forth was Daniel held in great reputation by the people." It was from this

story that Shakespeare conceived the words which he put into the mouth of Shylock:

"A Daniel come to judgment, yea, a Daniel!
O wise young judge, how do I honor thee!"

The early Christians were fond of this romance, and among the crude pictures of the catacombs are found representations of Susanna.

Bel and the Dragon.

This other addition to Daniel is again a piece of pure fiction but with slightly more connection with the canonical book, as it purports to deal with certain incidents of Daniel's life.

This brief book is really two independent stories, "The Story of Bel" (vs. 1–2) and "The Story of the Dragon" (vs. 23–42). In the first story we find that an image of Bel was set up in Babylon, which Daniel refuses to admit is a real god or to supply with food. When the king points out to him the great amount of food that the idol ate each day as proof that Bel was a living God, Daniel replies that Bel was only an image and ate nothing. Then Daniel undertakes to prove his contention, and asks that the king himself load the table with food and seal the doors of the temple. Daniel then secretly strews the floor lightly with ashes. In the morning when the seals are broken and the doors opened, the food has gone, but Daniel shows the king the marks of naked feet in the ashes, and the secret

door by which the priests had removed the food. Then the king puts the priests to death and destroys the idol.

The "Story of the Dragon" is somewhat similar and is a sequel to the first. In this story we find a great dragon whom the people worshipped and fed. And the king said to Daniel, "Wilt thou say this also is of brass? lo, he eateth and drinketh! Thou canst not say, he is not a living God." Then Daniel proposed to kill the dragon without sword or weapon. And upon casting certain pitchy substances into its jaws, the dragon burst in sunder. So again Daniel confounded the worshippers of false gods.

It is obvious that these two stories, based on ancient myths and legends, were written to expose the absurdity of idolatry. It is equally obvious that the relation of "Bel and the Dragon" to the canonical book of Daniel is very slight, and lies only in the purpose to magnify the exploits and heroism of Daniel.

CHAPTER VII

THE LITERATURE OF THE ERA:
Annals and Apocalypse

CHAPTER VII

THE LITERATURE OF THE ERA: ANNALS AND APOCALYPSE

I. HISTORICAL LITERATURE

I Maccabees.

OUT of this era as part of the Apocrypha, there has come to us a fine, well-balanced history, a plain unvarnished tale, uncolored by passion, of that heroic chapter of Israelitish history, the rise of the Maccabees, in what is called I Maccabees. It covers forty years, from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B. C.) to the death of Simon (135 B. C.). It is our chief source book for this historical period. So sober and restrained is its style that it is universally regarded as authentic and dependable history. The exact agreement in the main of its chronology with that of the Greek and Roman historians, and the detailed correspondence of its statements with their facts confirms that judgment. Yet, with all its restraint, the narrative of heroic deeds and glorious exploits it tells is so moving that it inspired Handel to set it to music in his oratorio, "Judas Maccabeus," which makes the hero live again and speak through its heart-stirring arias.

The author is generally regarded as a pious Sadducee of Palestine who wrote the book about the end of the second century B. C. The favorable attitude toward the priesthood and the omission of all reference to the Pharisaic ideas of this period, have led scholars to this conclusion.

I Esdras.

Another historical work included in the Apocrypha, but of less importance historically, since it parallels the narratives in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and adds no new facts to our knowledge, is "I Esdras" (Ezra). The book is but a repetition of this former history. The first two chapters of I Esdras correspond to the last two of II Chronicles (25–26); its last chapter to Nehemiah 7:73–8:13; and the intervening portion simply repeats the whole of the Book of Ezra, with one addition, the story of The Three Pages at Darius' court (I Esdras 3:1–5:6). This original section of I Esdras may have been based on some popular Persian tradition. It narrates that while Darius was asleep one night three pages who were on guard made a wager with each other to see who could write the insert phrase. And each having written his own, they brought the three sayings to Darius for judgment. The first had written—"Wine is strongest," the second, "The King is strongest," the third, "Women are strongest; but above all Truth bears away the victory." Darius called a

great assembly and commanded each page to defend his statement. And the third carried away the victory; and upon being asked by the king what reward he wanted, requested that Jerusalem be rebuilt, and the Jews sent back to Palestine. And the king granted his request and freed his people and sent them back, laden with wealth, to their homeland.

This original section gives us the clue to the purpose for which the book was written—to remind the Jews of the favor once shown them by Persia under Cyrus and Darius, and encourage them to hope for similar treatment from later rulers.

The similarity of this book to the canonical Ezra has naturally raised the question as to which is the original. The tendency of modern scholars is toward the theory that I Esdras and Ezra are independent Greek translations from a Hebrew original, and that they are of nearly equal value. This opinion of modern scholarship greatly strengthens the historical value of I Esdras.

II. Apocalyptic Literature

We come now to the strangest literary product of this whole era—that which is called "apocalypse." The word means an "unveiling" or "revelation," but the books so denominated have been rather a mystery and an unsolved riddle to most students; sealed rather than un-

sealed volumes. This is partly because of their literary form, for which we have no parallel in modern literature; partly because of the obscure and baffling mystery of their style; partly because of the lavish use of weird imagery, visions and symbols, cryptic and mysterious. To some all this has been intensely intriguing, and the two apocalypses found in our Bible—Daniel and Revelation—have afforded such students a strange delight in the attempted solution of their cryptograms and the unravelling of their mysteries. But most Bible students turn away from these books in puzzled despair.

Yet, curious and perplexing as these books now seem to us, they are the most voluminous and important literary product of this period between the Testaments and their influence was tremendous. Exclusive of Daniel, seven extracanonical apocalypses have come down to us complete; and six others are known to us in part through quotations in other literature. Tradition states that there were in all seventy of these apocalypses produced (IV Esdras 14); but while this is a gross exaggeration, we know that they were very numerous. Of all the literature of this period these books were the most popular and influential, for they were written for the common people. They expressed the deepest passions and hopes of the masses; they had the appeal that imaginative literature could not fail to have to a people who were weary of

the dry and formal writings of lawgivers and sages with which the age abounded. A recent writer* has revealed with startling clearness how much of the language of the apocalyptic discourses of Jesus in the last week, of the first and fourth gospels and Revelation is drawn from the phrases and images of this apocalyptic literature. It was read with avidity by all who had access to its pages, and had much to do with shaping the popular beliefs and ideas of Jesus' day.

Apocalypse was the product of times of oppression under foreign conquerors that began with the conquest by Syria. Its purpose was to give cheer and heart to the Jews amid their persecutions. This it did by presenting in a series of visions, and by the use of symbols and images, predictions as to the overthrow of the current oppressor and the restoration of Israel. The choice of this varied and fantastic imagery was not a mere literary device, but was primarily to veil behind these strange symbols from all save the initiated the intent and purpose of the books. To the Jew they would be clear as day, to the oppressor unintelligible.

The manner of this predicted deliverance was by a dramatic interposition of divine power. So the scene shifts from the earth to the mystic heavenly world and back again; the natural and the supernatural alternate. There is here presented a cosmic conflict between the spiritual

*Hurst, "Literary Background of New Testament."

kingdoms of good and evil, light and darkness; and in apocalypse the kingdom of God always is victorious, the kingdom of Satan is vanquished. Behind this mystic scenery the meaning lay plain to the pious Jewish reader. God was about to intervene from heaven, and by a catastrophic and spectacular act of supernatural power (about which the apocalyptic imagination plays like a lambent flame) sweep away all Israel's enemies, bring to an end the reign of evil, and restore the kingdom to Israel. How long this "present age" of sorrow and oppression should endure, apocalypticism was not clear. In "The Assumption of Moses" it was set at 5,000 years; in "Enoch" at 10,000. And as to the method of divine procedure there was no unanimity; some predicting a divine judgment followed by a renewed earth; some declaring that the earth was unfit for God and would be destroyed to give place to a heavenly world; others believing in a temporary kingdom of God on earth (millennium), then the judgment, then the final reign of God. It is surely obvious whence the pre-millennialist and post-millennialist adventists of today have derived their basic ideas.

But all this analysis of the theology of these apocalypses gives no idea of the real quality of this literature. In a riot of imagination, a revel of colorful visions and dreams, a rhapsody of mystic longings, a surge of passions and hopes and fears, the apocalyptist paints his vivid pic-

tures of present and future. On wings of speculation he soars to the realms of the unseen, and his boldness and audacity thrill the soul. It was not so much the mind as the heart of Judaism which finds expression in these books. To understand them we must needs share in the intense and long-repressed emotions of those bitter years of persecution and trial. Out of the prison-house of sorrow and despair come to us these "songs in the night." Sympathy rather than critical acumen is needed to approach and appraise this strange literature.

One other peculiarity must be noted—the fact that they are pseudonymous; written not in the author's own name but that of some saint or prophet of the past. The explanation of this phenomenon is not easy. It seems at first sight like a conscious deception. There were three influences at work that account for it.

The first is that as a literary device it enabled the apocalyptist to use with great effectiveness the predictive element in his prophecy, which to his mind was concerned only with the immediate present. He was not predicting world events of centuries far in the future; though interpreters of Daniel and Revelation have so used these books and sought to fit them into contemporary history, as was done in our day when 666, the occult number of Revelation (Rev. 13:18), was declared to refer to the German Kaiser. But the apocalyptic writer is predicting

simply the overthrow of the *present* oppressor such as Syria or Rome. And it gives weight and conviction to his prediction to be able to show, through placing his words in the mouth of one who lived long ago (and representing him as foretelling the course of the divine judgment overthrowing nation after nation that held Israel in thrall) how Jehovah has always helped his people, and hence will help them now in the present crisis. Thus, for example, in Daniel (see chap. I) we saw how the author, who lived in the Syrian Era, puts into the mouth of the Daniel of the Exile predictions of the overthrow by divine judgment of Babylonia, Persia and Greece—events which have of course already taken place. To thus put the panorama of past events into the mouth of one of long ago as though they were predictions is to us peculiar and perplexing; but it is nevertheless a characteristic feature of this literature, and one can see how it could be and doubtless was used with dramatic and convincing effect.

The second reason lay in the fact that this literature was produced at a time when, by common consent of the leaders of Judaism, the canon of the Law and the Prophets was closed. These apocalypses were the aftermath of prophecy; written, however, rather than spoken utterance; but the logical successors of the later prophetic books, assuming their style and form. Since the prophetic canon was closed, and thus officially

the voice of God through his prophets declared to be silenced, these later writers must of necessity write under the pseudonymn of Noah or Moses or Enoch to gain any acceptance of their works.

The third explanation is found in the unique psychology of the Hebrew writers. We are now aware, through the researches of modern scholarship, that a large part of our Old Testament is anonymous. And the reason lies in the fact that, unlike the Greeks, who like ourselves had a pride of authorship and the fame it brings, the Hebrew writers seemingly cared nothing for copyright, and scarcely knew the meaning of that literary crime called plagiarism. Whatever a man wrote was cast, without any appended name or any jealousy of authorship, into the common fund of national literature. Each writer borrowed freely from this common and anonymous compilation of literature of his predecessors, using and adding whatever he would. Strange this may seem to us, but nevertheless admirable—that in such unselfish fashion without any thought of personal fame this literature was builded. And may it not account in part for the reality and power of Israelitish literature that it was the product of sincere and self-giving minds? So in such a literary atmosphere, when a new writer confronted a critical hour and sought to give not a new message but to reinterpret the old faith in the light of past history and

prophecy, it does not seem unnatural or unfitting that he should have assumed an ancient name; for in a real sense he truly felt that he was but reincarnating the spirit and expressing anew the faith of that ancient seer or saint. All this may help us to believe that there was no conscious attempt to deceive, since in no way could the deception serve the writer's own ambitions or further any selfish desires.

After this rather lengthy introduction which has seemed necessary because of the unique and perplexing nature of this apocalyptic literature, we come now to a brief survey of those extra-canonical apocalypses of this period which have been preserved for us.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

This book was written by some Pharisaic author during the days when John Hyrcanus was at the height of his power, and was strongly favoring the Pharisees (109–106 B. C.). Exercising as he did the triple functions of prophet, priest and king, he seemed to the author of the book to be a real Messiah, and to him are dedicated some Messianic hymns in his honor. But hardly had this part of the book been finished than Hyrcanus, in a fit of temper, broke with the Pharisees and went over to the Sadducees, and in the last years of his life became a bitter persecutor of the Pharisees, evoking the protest of one of the authors of the Book of Enoch. And as his successors became arch-persecutors of

Pharisaism, some later Pharisee voiced a passionate protest against the Maccabean rulers, which, by a strange fate, was added to the original book of the "Testaments." In later Christian times many annotations were interpolated by Christian writers, for it was popular in the early church. So the book became a composite and contradictory piece of literature, well nigh impossible of interpretation, until by a fortunate circumstance the original book in its Armenian form was found in 1896 at Cairo.

The book purports to set forth the autobiographic stories and dying commands of the twelve sons of Jacob. This motif was probably suggested by the so-called "Testament" of Jacob given in Genesis 49. Each of the patriarchs tells his own life-story, emphasizing some one special moral quality, be it virtue or vice. Thus the theme of Reuben is "Thoughts," of Simeon, "Envy," of Levi, "Arrogance," of Judah, "Avarice and Lust," of Issachar, "Simplicity," of Zebulun, "Compassion," of Naphtali, "Holiness," of Dan, "Anger and Falsehood," of Gad, "Hatred," of Joseph, "Chastity," of Benjamin, "A Pure Mind." An amazing universality, breadth and richness of moral teaching is here presented in this unique and interesting way. And on how high a level it moves! Here are united the two commandments to love God and fellow-men. In six places with slight variations does this phrase occur: "Love the Lord and your

neighbor." And listen to this: "If any man seek to do evil to you, do him a good turn and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord." And of the same tenor is this brief essay on "Forgiveness": "If any man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him. But if he be shameless and persisteth in his wrong doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging" (Testament of Gad). Such ethical teaching is a vast advance on the Old Testament and a link with the New.

Then follows in each case the apocalyptic element in which each patriarch follows his moral exhortations with mingled prophecies and warnings as to the future. The portion which was the original groundwork of the book praises and extols the Maccabean rulers, and is an apologia for these leaders as the embodiment of the hopes of the nation; but the interpolations and additions of the later writers are full of bitter invectives and warnings. It was these contradictions that made the book so nearly impossible of analysis. The very recent discovery of the original book (coupled with this difficulty of understanding its later form) has kept this book from the attention it so richly deserves. But the next decade of scholarship will undoubtedly turn its attention to the book and evoke its values. Yet it has already been described as "the most uni-

versal of all the apocalypses and the most deeply ethical."

The Sibylline Oracles.

This unique product of apocalypticism is a collection of twelve books, partly of Jewish and partly of Christian authorship, and written over a period of about four hundred years. Interestingly enough it is largely in the form of Greek hexameters, like the Iliad and Odyssey. The name was derived from the famous oracles of the Cumean Sibyl, so well known to the classical age, and strangely enough many of these Jewish oracles were accepted by heathenism as semi-divine utterances. Vergil in his Georgics and Eclogues borrowed many of its beautiful sentiments from the Jewish Sibyllines, and copied outright his fourth Eclogue from this collection.

The first two books contain a curious intermixture of heathen myths of cosmic and human origins with the Old Testament traditions. The third book is an evident attempt to recast the heathen myths in a Jewish mould. Thus Uranus becomes Noah, Saturn and Titan are identified with Shem and Hem, while the Tower of Babel story becomes merged into the classic myth of the revolt of the Titans. The latter part of this book is an anti-heathen apocalyptic, defiantly Jewish, an interpolation or addition of the first century B. C. The fourth, fifth, tenth, and twelfth books were written by Egyptian Jews during the first three Christian centuries. The

sixth, eighth, ninth and eleventh books are of Christian authorship.

Many of the Jewish portions of the Sibylline Oracles are distinctly propagandist, often addressing the heathen world in the name of some great heathen leader; and their purpose was the propagation of Judaism among the Gentiles.

I Enoch or The Ethiopic Book of Enoch.

Enoch, the famous saint of Genesis, about whom innumerable legends gathered, is made the focus of a whole series of writings here gathered under his name; not a single book but a collection in 108 chapters representing over a hundred years of composition and compilation. It survives as a complete whole only in an Ethiopic translation, hence its name. Chaps. 1–32 were, however, recovered in their Greek form about 1890; but this Greek was itself from an older Hebrew or Aramaic original.

The present work falls into four books. The first, the Composite Section, chaps. 1–36, 106–108 (180–166 B. C.), is made up of fragments of the lost Book of Noah, the tradition of the fall of the angels, and the story of the celestial journeys of Enoch during which he learned the secrets of nature and of the future life of the dead. In its form and style it bears a striking resemblance to the great medieval poem of Dante.

The second book is "The Visions of Enoch," chaps. 83–90 (165–161 B. C.), a series of ecstatic visions in which he saw the whole course of hu-

man history from the Flood to the Maccabean Era. It then predicts the overthrow of the "wicked shepherds" (the venal high-priests of the Syrian Era), and the coming of the "deliverer" (Judas Maccabeus), followed by the Day of Jehovah. Then follows a vivid description of the Judgment, the punishment in Gehenna, the New Jerusalem and the Messianic kingdom.

The third book is "The Woes and Consolations," chaps. 91–104 (120–105 B. C.), a Pharisaic document directed against the Sadducees of the time of John Hyrcanus, whose savage cruelties against the Pharisees evoked this book. Like the preceding section it predicts a coming Divine Judgment; this time, however, directed not against the heathen persecutors, but the cruel Jewish rulers. Their future woes and their final descent into the Sheol of fire are depicted in lurid colors. The "righteous" (Pharisees) will soon be delivered and find blessedness in a new heaven.

The fourth book is "The Similitudes" or "Parables of Enoch," chaps. 37–70 (94–80 B. C.). This portion was probably written in the time of Alexander Jamarus, whose persecution of the Pharisees was protracted, cruel and bloody, thousands falling victims to his tyranny, so that he was called "the butcher of the pious." This book is a protest against this persecution. Again we have a series of vivid pictures, tracing the origin of sin to the fallen angels, and pre-

dicting the coming of a "Son of Man," the resurrection of all Israel, the final judgment, and the transformation of earth into a heavenly realm where Messiah may rule. Many of the details of the angelology and future life are unlike the rest of Enoch. The idea of the Messiah here presented is unique, not only as regards the Book of Enoch, but all the rest of Jewish literature. Here he is exalted to sit on the throne of God, is pre-existent with God, and is to have final judgment and universal dominion. In these Similitudes we find four titles of Messiah first used which the New Testament applies to Jesus: "Christ" (or anointed one), "The Righteous One," "The Elect One," and "The Son of Man." It is also the first writing in which we find the word "Sheol" since its use in the Psalms; the first clear exposition of "Satan" and the fallen angels of his kingdom.

This Book of Enoch, complex as it is in form and weird in symbolism, is by all odds the most important pre-Christian apocalypse. It is not only quoted by name in the New Testament (Jude 14–15), but the whole New Testament is fairly saturated with its phrases. Two examples will suffice: "They shall see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory" (Enoch 62–65) (cf. Matt. 19:28); "His head was white as wool and his raiment indescribable, and I fell on my face and my spirit was transfigured" (Enoch 71:10–11) (cf. Rev. 1:13–14). Dr.

Hurst lists seventy-two such parallel passages. But far more important is the fact (which will be discussed in the next chapter) that many of the characteristic popular beliefs of the New Testament era came directly out of this book—the Messianic kingdom, the Messiah and his coming, the resurrection, the future life of bliss, Sheol, demoniac possession, and angelology.

II Baruch or the Apocalypse of Baruch.

This beautiful apocalypse was lost for centuries but was recovered in 1866 in its entirety in a Syriac form in a 6th century manuscript. It came out of that dark day when the Herodian Temple fell (70 A. D.), and reflects the despair of the Jews over this blow to their faith. It uses the name of Baruch, because as Jeremiah's scribe he was an eyewitness of the fall of the first Temple. It predicts the events of that first disaster in a most vivid and detailed fashion. Then follow the visions of the tribulations, with incidental discussion of a host of theological problems, like the nature of the risen body. It was originally written in Hebrew, and reflects a passionately intense Pharisaism, holding that the Law is the only way of salvation and the world was created for the sake of Israel. Since the return of the "lost ten tribes" was an essential part of most apocalyptists' view of the future, we find a curious section in this apocalypse in which an eagle flies with a letter to the ten tribes in a far-distant land, telling them to pre-

pare for a miraculous return to their own land.

II Esdras (or IV Ezra), or The Apocalypse of Ezra.

This book is strikingly similar to II Baruch, but is somewhat later and more elaborate. The first two and the last two chapters are spurious additions by a Christian hand, and are sometimes known respectively as III Ezra and V Ezra. The central and original apocalypse of Ezra (chaps. 3–14) consists of a series of visions, written to explain the fall of Jerusalem and the triumph of the heathen. It predicts the end of this period of sorrow and the coming of a new Jerusalem with the advent of the Messiah. And Ezra is chosen as the spokesman of these hopes (since he, like Baruch, lived in the time of the first Temple's fall) and the concluding chapters contain the idea that Ezra is to restore (as in earlier days) the lost scriptures, and create seventy others. The book was well known and popular in New Testament times and seems to have been familiar to Paul.

The Assumption of Moses (*2 B. C.–109 A. D.*).

Under the guise of a prophecy spoken by Moses to Joshua, the author of this book, who lived under the hateful Herodian rule in Palestine, predicts the overthrow of these tyrannous rulers and the new day for Israel. The book presents an unique estimate of Moses, which would make him almost a divine being. He is made to say by the author: "God who created the world

proposed me from the foundation of the world as mediator of the covenant." And the traditional idea that he was not buried, but translated like Enoch, is here set forth. The book is also interesting as the source to which reference is made by the author of Jude (vs. 9) regarding the legend of Michael's struggle with the devil for the body of Moses; but the book as we have it does not contain this passage.

But its greatest interest lies in the fact that within the book are expressed the views of the Quakers of that time, a party of the Pharisees who were deeply mystical and opposed to the secularism and political passions of the majority of the Pharisees.

"Apart from its interest as a work written during the early days of the Christian era, the 'Assumption' is of special interest because of its advocacy of a wise pacificism and a patient expectation of divine deliverance. This ran counter to the popular conception of the Messiah as a man of war; but it was the view of Jesus, who opposed alliance between religion and any political movement. The quietism of the book has very close affinities with the temper expressed in the Sermon on the Mount."*

II Enoch, or the Slavonic Book of Enoch.

The Apocalypse of Enoch, sometimes called "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch" is best known as "The Slavonic Book of Enoch," since

*Hurst: *Literary Background of New Testament.*

it is found only in a Slavonic version. It makes some use of the earlier Ethiopic Enoch, but is largely independent and different. It was probably written during the first half of the first Christian century and so is contemporary with Christ. It comes to us from Egypt from the pen of an orthodox Hellenistic Jew. Platonic, Egyptian and Jewish elements are embodied in the book.

The first part of the book describes Enoch's journey through the seven heavens into the presence of God. He is inducted into the mysteries of the origins of heaven and earth and man. After a month's stay in heaven during which he writes 366 books of his revelations, he returns to earth to instruct his children.

The last part of the book contains his ethical teachings in which emphasis is laid on justice and charity, sincerity and love, to observe which will gain immortality. Many of these sayings are fine and noble.

In this book the whole cosmic history is divided by the author into seven "days" of a thousand years each, since "a day with the Lord is a thousand years" (II Peter 3:8). Since God made the world in six days, it should last for six thousand years and then be followed by the seventh epoch "the thousand years of peace." Here is the origin of the idea of the millennium. After this millennium will come the eighth and timeless age of God's reign on earth. The "seven

heavens" of the book influenced later thought, and are reflected in Paul's epistles (Eph. 4:10; II Cor. 12:2; Eph. 3:10). As we know in medieval times this idea was universally believed. And the phrase "seventh heaven" as a synonym of perfect bliss still remains in popular speech, even the motion pictures using it today as the title of a film.

CHAPTER VIII

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ONE of the most striking contrasts between the Old Testament and the New is found in the place they give to the hereafter. In the New Testament the future life bulks large, in the Old it is an almost negligible quantity. The "Law and the Prophets" contains only one allusion to the unseen world, and the balance of the Old Testament gives it only casual recognition. Nor is this all to be accounted for by the effect of Jesus' teaching and resurrection on New Testament thought. For the study of the background of the New Testament reveals that to the Judaism of that period had come before Jesus' day a well-nigh universal hope of a real life beyond the grave. And this Period of the Connections is obviously the era when the intangible, vaporous and rather gloomy outlook on the unseen and spiritual world was transformed into faith in immortality. Into such an atmosphere of expectancy was Christianity born, to infuse the future life with a beauty and assurance that remain as our rich heritage of faith.

This transformation of thought and outlook on the spiritual world which took place in this

interval between the Testaments was not immediate and definite, but was the gradual resultant of a flux of ideas which finally crystallized into the concepts of Judaism in the New Testament era. The source of these new views of the spiritual world is the literature of this intermediate era, especially its apocalypses, from whose perusal and discussion these ideas passed into popular thought. They were widely read, as is proved by the fact that the New Testament writers betray familiarity with their ideas and quote their phrases. The study of the process by which the interplay of the various ideas and speculations produced the final concepts of the future might be interesting, but is too involved and complex to be undertaken here. It will be sufficient for our purposes to briefly summarize the main elements of the transformation.

A hope for some kind of existence after death is well-nigh universal, and this the ancient Hebrews shared. But their view of the hereafter in the earlier Old Testament era only contemplated the future life of the nation; which in days to come would be one of blessedness, a kingdom of God, ushered in by the "Day of the Lord," and signalized by Israel's triumph over her enemies. In this national future every loyal and devout Hebrew would share. Beyond this his thought did not go, for strange as the idea seems to us today, the individual life was at that time absolutely merged in the life of the

nation. The blessed future was not the continuing life of the soul in heaven, but a return to the present life on earth in the Messianic age. It was not until the apocalyptic literature arose that we really find a clear-cut doctrine of the resurrection of the individual. For it is surprising how deeply rooted the national idea was, and how slowly the individual hope made its way into the Jewish religious consciousness. But when the Israelitish Commonwealth fell in 586 B. C. and the Exile began, then, since the national life was ended, the Jew began to speculate as to his individual future; and there emerged in answer the distinctive doctrine of the Old Testament regarding the future of the individual—the doctrine of Sheol.

This was the abode of the dead, of all the dead—good and bad alike (Job 3:17). In that new existence social distinctions remained unchanged, but no moral distinctions existed. It was conceived as a deep, dark underworld, in which the dead had continued existence in a state of being joyless, impotent, hopeless and unreal (Isaiah 14:9; Eccles. 9:5; Psalms 94:17). Sheol is absolutely cut off from the land of the living (Job 7:19) and also from God (Isaiah 38:18). It closely resembles the "Hades" of the Greeks (and so the Revised Version of the Old Testament wisely translates "Sheol" as "Hades") and is no advance upon it. It is not a place of torment or punishment, but one of

misery and wretchedness—an inane, shadowy, cheerless existence.

Beyond this concept of the future life the Old Testament did not go. Only four passages (Psalms 16:10; Psalms 17:15; Isaiah 26:19 and Daniel 12:2) hint at a possible resurrection from Sheol into a higher form of life. The famous passage in Job (19:25) which Handel uses in his beloved aria, is very far from clear both in text and interpretation. Yet when we cross the threshold of the New Testament we find the Pharisees teaching and the Jewish people believing in a resurrection and a future life. How and when did these concepts originate? And the answer is—with the Pharisees and during the Persian Era.

The unique relationship of Judaism to its Persian conquerors has already been noted, and it seems reasonable to conclude that it primarily arose not upon political but religious grounds. For Persia had created in Zoroastrianism or Mazdaism (surviving as Parseeism in India at the present day) one of the most highly ethical and lofty spiritual religions of the ancient world, and one which had marked affinities with Hebrew faith. The moral teachings of Mazdaism were simple and sincere, and in contrast to the sensual and brutal gods of other heathen religions a spiritual deity called Ahura Mazda, "God of heaven," was worshipped under the symbol of fire. But the distinctive features of

Mazdaism were its dualism and resurrection. Over against Ahura Mazda was Angra-Mainyu or Ahriman, the god of evil and darkness; and the whole of history was a cosmic struggle of many millennia, to end in the triumph of good over evil, the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment which would vindicate the righteous. It is the general opinion of scholars that during their close contact with Persia the Hasidim, the Jewish leaders of thought at that time, adopted these ideas and adapted them to Jewish uses. As mystics and seers, the Hasidim felt a strong affinity with this Mazdean faith, and the new ideas thus adopted were introduced to Judaism as divine mysteries, handed down out of the past by Enoch, Noah, Moses, Ezra, and were introduced in the apocalypses that bear their names. Transmitted to the Pharisaic party which grew out of the Hasidim, it was by them taught to the masses and its main ideas became fixed in the popular mind. These ideas were given a Jewish character by a symbolic use of texts from the Pentateuch declared to contain these doctrines.

From the Persian Era onward there appear in Judaism more and more of these elements which the Hasidim had introduced into popular thought; and the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are filled with these ideas of the unseen world, by which the ideas of Judaism in Old Testament times were transformed. During the whole inter-biblical period the imagination of

Judaism took wings and soared into the unseen. Some of these dreams and speculations are grotesque and weird, but many of them are singularly beautiful. It will however only be possible to sketch in outline the main ideas of the spiritual world which evolved in this period, and which became the common thought of Judaism in Jesus' day.

The Resurrection.

This was held to be the prerogative of the "righteous," by which was meant the Jews alone. And in the second century B. C. there was coupled with this the idea of a bodily resurrection. This grew up naturally out of the thought of the corporate immortality which the individual shared as one of the nation. Since the nation was to be restored to Palestine, this expected physical resurrection was to take place from its soil and to consist of a transforming of the earthly body. Rabbinic ingenuity later created the idea that a small bone at the base of the spine (still called "os sacrum") was to be the nucleus of the resurrection body, and to comfort those Jews buried outside Palestine, the concept that on the resurrection day through a hollow within the earth, their bodies should be transported thither so as to find resurrection in the Holy Land. But in the first century B. C. this idea gave way to the resurrection of the soul rather than the body (Eth. Enoch 91–104). And to this later teaching Jesus may refer in his answer to the Sadducees in Matthew 22:30.

The Messianic Kingdom.

This will form the theme of the next chapter; but must be touched upon here because of its basic importance to the present theme. This kingdom was taught by the prophets to be a transformed human life here on earth in which God should reign. Then as the idea of a Messiah or deliverer came into more and more prominence with the declining fortunes and final destruction of the political nation, this Messiah was conceived as bringing in the rule of God. This was at first conceived of as taking place on earth, and many sensuous and materialistic pictures (like I Enoch 1–70) are drawn of the earthly blessings of the righteous in this period. This kingdom of God on earth was to be eternal, and was to be preceded by the resurrection and the final judgment.

But in the second century B. C. the increasing effect of the dualism of the period, which made God more and more transcendent, and removed him farther from earth, led the writers of this period (Psalms of Solomon, Jubilees, Slavonic Enoch, etc.) to abandon the idea of a kingdom on the present earth. It must be transformed into a Messianic kingdom and even this was not worthy of eternity and so was conceived as of only temporary duration and at its close will occur the resurrection and the final judgment of mankind.

The New Ideas of Sheol.

These changing ideas of the Messianic king-

dom wrought corresponding changes in the ideas of Sheol. Two quite distinct ideas emerge out of these closing centuries of the pre-Christian era.

The first one which evolved in Palestinian Judaism held that at death men passed into Sheol, there to remain for long ages until at the coming of the Messiah and his kingdom they were to find resurrection from Sheol and the final judgment was to follow by which they should enter into their final destiny of sorrow or blessedness. So Sheol became an intermediate state. And in some of the literature of this Eastern Judaism it is represented as a state of preliminary blessedness or punishment, a kind of prelude to heaven or hell. These moral distinctions in Sheol are first found in the Book of Enoch (20:9–13):

"This division (of Sheol) has been made for the righteous, in which there is the spring of the water of life. And the other has been made for sinners when they die. Here they shall be set apart in pain till the great day of judgment." This idea of Sheol corresponds very closely to the Roman Catholic conception of Purgatory.

The second idea was that of Alexandrian or Western Judaism, which, holding that the resurrection and judgment were to be deferred till the end of the Messianic kingdom, believed that the righteous enter at once at death into this Messianic kingdom, and at its close are from it translated into heaven. But the wicked go to Sheol at

death. And thus by a natural evolution Sheol became from this point of view a place first of partial retribution and finally of eternal retribution, an abode of torment and fire. Thus by the Christian era the idea of Sheol and Gehenna were identical in Western Judaism.

Heaven and Hell.

The great cosmic spiritual drama of Mazdaism which Pharisaism adopted in its apocalypticism as the struggle of the Kingdom of Messiah with the power of evil, led them, like the Persian thinkers, to a belief in the final triumph of Good over Evil. Then should come a Last Judgment, a "Day of the Lord" conceived with a daring imagination and painted with lurid colors which gives it a Dantesque quality. And at its close there must be a final state of reward for the righteous and of punishment for the wicked. But the Old Testament indicated no such heaven or hell; but only Sheol as the abode of the dead,—both good and bad. So again the Pharisaic thinkers borrowed from Mazdaism their idea of heaven as "The House of Song," and of hell as "The House of Lies," and transformed them into the Hebrew concepts of Paradise and Gehenna.

Gehenna.

They localized the place of punishment in the Valley of Hinnom, southwest of Jerusalem, called in Hebrew—"Ge-Hinnom" which be-

came our later "Gehenna." Strange as it may seem to us to thus localize the future life by connecting it with some earthly place, it was perfectly credible to the ancients, as witness the fact that the Romans believed Avernus, near Naples, to be the entrance to the infernal regions. Gehenna was a place of evil associations where under Manasseh and later under Jehoiakim human sacrifices had been offered to Moloch (II Chron. 28:3, Jer. 11:10–13). So it became to Judaism a place of horror. Later it was used for centuries as the city dump of Jerusalem, and here refuse and garbage were burned. So the stench of its corruption and the smoke of its never-ending fire became symbols of the place of torment (Mark 9:48). In the earlier literature of this period it is conceived as a place of punishment for apostate Jews with both bodily and spiritual torment, which they suffered in the presence of the righteous. Then it became a place of fire and torment and punishment for *all the wicked*, to be witnessed by the righteous. This conception seems clearly reflected in the Parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16).

Paradise.

As a place of reward the Jewish leaders chose the Biblical Garden of Eden or "Paradise." Paradise was a Persian word for a royal park, and passed over into the Greek language; so that when the Septuagint translation was made the translators used this word in reference to the

Garden of Eden. About this word and its possible implications the fancy of the apocalyptic writers played; the most elaborate descriptions of this garden of God being in the Books of Enoch and Jubilees. Nor are the ideas of the various writers consistent. Sometimes it was located on earth (and that idea persisted into the Middle Ages as the maps of that period show); sometimes it was in heaven. And about it even more fantastic speculations ran riot in the Talmud. There also came to be in time the idea of a lower and an upper Paradise. This lower Paradise was by certain Jewish writers identified with the happier section of Sheol. And this idea intrigued Christian speculation which held it to be the "Paradise" to which Jesus referred in his words to the thief on the cross (Luke 23:43). And this was later elaborated into a dogma of the "Descent into Hell" (or Hades) which finds expression in one clause of the Apostles' Creed and in the theology of Christendom. This fantastic and absurd Christian dogma became the "reductio absurdum" of the Jewish idea. But nevertheless it is true that this concept of Paradise was immensely popular in Judaism, and was unfortunately often very sensuously depicted, not unlike the Mohammedan heaven.

Heaven.

The word "heaven" had originally a purely physical meaning, as the expanse above us in which sun, moon and stars move, the same sig-

nificance as it still bears in common use. Next it was exalted in the Old Testament into the abode of God and his angels. The Judaism of this intermediate period took one further step and conceived of heaven as the abode of the righteous dead.

The Seven Heavens.

The apocalyptists took this simple idea and expanded it into a plurality of heavens, an ascending series of abodes of the blest (II Enoch, IV Esdras and Testaments of XII Patriarchs). Ultimately seven such heavens came to be conceived; the idea possibly being derived from the Babylonians who had handed it on to the Persian theologians. These seven heavens were described as follows: The first is a great sea of snow and ice; the second is reserved as the place of eternal judgment; the third contains the Garden of Eden and Tree of Life; the fourth has sun, moon and angels; the fifth is the place of the angelic "Watchers" who are troubled over their fallen brethren; the sixth is the place of the great angels and the cherubim; in the seventh are the heavenly hosts and the Lord on his throne. And in the Talmud these apocalyptic speculations are carried to far more fantastic lengths.

But it is of interest to note that this idea of a plurality of heavens persists in the New Testament in the mind of Paul (Eph. 1:3; 4:10; II Cor. 12:2). And the New Testament adopts

this word "heaven" rather than "Paradise," as its name for the future abode of the blessed, but clothes it with a new significance and beauty.

Angelology and Demonology

Angelology.

The increasing stress of the transcendence of God in later Judaism tended more and more to separate him from the world and made natural the increasing substitution for his personal presence among mankind, which took very crude form in earlier Judaism (Gen. 3:8, 9; 8:21), certain intermediate agencies which received the name of "angels" or "messengers" of God. Belief in them and allusion to them are everywhere in evidence in our Old Testament. Up to the time of the exile the idea was very simple; but in Daniel we find the germ of the idea of a hierarchy of angelic beings about God's throne.

It was in the period that followed Daniel that in the Jewish apocalypses angelology reached its fullest development. These books depict an angelic hierarchy with archangels at their head, as the court of the Divine monarch. In I Enoch and Jubilees this angelic host is vividly pictured. Here, as in so many other ways, the Jewish writers were indebted to Persia, where angelology was highly developed, for those ideas which they worked over into Jewish forms, and then transmitted to New Testa-

ment days, have come down through the centuries of Christianity in hymns and theology and popular belief.

The Archangels.

At the head of this heavenly hierarchy stood seven angel princes or archangels (Rev. 1:1; 4:5, Eth. Enoch 90). (1) Michael, the angelic patron of Israel, its champion and avenger (Ethiopic Enoch), the angel through whom the Law was given (Jubilees), full of mercy and kindness (Enoch, Testament of XII Patriarchs); (2) Gabriel, the revealing angel and chief spokesman of God to men, and the angel of judgment; (3) Uriel, the angel who watches over earth and Sheol, and over the fallen angels (II Esdras, Sibylline Oracles); (4) Raphael, the angel of prayer, who presents the prayers of the faithful to God (Tobit); (5) Raguel, who watches over the stellar universe; (6) Remiel, the angel of the judgment and of vision (II Baruch, I Enoch) and Phanuel, the angel of the resurrection. (It should be noted that all these are names compounded with "El," the Hebrew word for "God"; e. g., Gabri-El ="Hero of God.") Of these seven archangels only two are mentioned in the Bible—Michael (Daniel 10:13, 21; 12:1; Jude 9; Rev. 12: 7) and Gabriel (Daniel 8:10, 9:21; Luke 1: 19, 26).

The Heathen Gods as Angels.

Rabbinic writers in the Talmud let their

fancy wander freely and devised additional ruling angels that were but the nature-gods of heathenism elevated into angelic beings about God's throne—as The Angel of the Sea, The Angel of the Rain, The Angel of Hail, etc. And one of the most curious developments of this angelology is the naming of the seventy "angels of the nations" who are part of this heavenly court. These are simply the gods of the heathen nations made over by Jewish speculation into an order of angels. These angels were not really good, but were ever in danger of losing their place in heaven. And such a loss of standing in the angelic hierarchy of one of these heathen gods ranking as an angel, and the exultation over it as over the fall of an enemy, is found in Isaiah 14:12:

"How art thou fallen from heaven, Lucifer, son of the dawn,
How art thou thrown down who didst lay peoples low,
And thou saidst in thy heart, To the heavens will I mount up,
Above the stars of God will I set my throne on high."

And this conception was expanded in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, which contains the story of the "fall of the angels," who in their fallen state tempt men to sin (Jude 6, II Peter 2:4). These fallen angels are to be visibly seen

in wandering stars or meteors (Jude 13), and their imprisonment by God under the earth was believed to be attested by volcanoes and earthquakes.

Cherubim and Seraphim.

Besides these great angels in heaven there were the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophannim. The Cherubim and Seraphim were in primitive Hebrew thought the personification of the thunderstorm, upon which Jehovah rode to judgment (Psalms 18:10). The cherub was the winged spirit of the storm, the seraph the dazzling fire of the lightning. Then the ideas were lifted into the higher realms of imagination and by later Jewish thought conceived as princes or nobles of the heavenly court.

But cherubim and seraphim were depicted as near to God's throne. Rabbinic speculation in the Talmud regarded the cherubim as youthful angels, and from this idea doubtless came the conventional cherub of sacred art and of common speech. Of the Ophannim we have no clear description. They were angelic personalities evolved from the idea in Ezekiel 1:15 ("wheels"), perhaps depicting originally the whirlwind.

Under the ruling or angel princes were an innumerable host of ministering angels, who had two duties—to praise God and to execute his commands. For the first task 640,000 myriads praised his name with "Holy, holy, holy."

The number of those who carry out God's behests is infinite.

Demonology: Satan.

Over against this great hierarchy of angels is a kingdom of evil ruled over by Satan. In earlier Judaism (as in the Book of Job) he is represented as one of the heavenly court who is the accuser and seducer of man. Later Rabbinic literature represents him as heading a revolt of a host of angels from heaven and establishing himself as head of his own kingdom of evil. This idea is prominent in Milton's "Paradise Lost." The old name, "Satan," was taken for this ruler of a kingdom of evil and under the influence of the Persian religion with its god of darkness he is represented as the head of a demoniac hierarchy. But the Hebrew theology never accepted the absolute dualism of Persia. God was still supreme; but for a time Satan and his kingdom were permitted to exist. And in Enoch we find under this supreme Satan a host of lesser Satans who tempt men to evil. This kingdom of evil with its arch-Satan is markedly present in the Book of Revelation.

In addition to this the Jewish people came to believe in this era in the existence of a host of evil spirits. They are subject to a king Ashmedai or Asmodeus, and a queen Lilith, who are the male and female personification of malevolence. The names are very definitely Persian, and the idea as well. Under them are

countless myriads of evil spirits. This belief does not appear in the Old Testament save in the curious rite respecting Azazel (Lev. 16:8 ff.), which indicates that Azazel was the spirit of the desert, and was conceived as malevolent, an idea held by the Arabs of today, who call these desert demons, "Jinns." By the Jews of that period these evil spirits were called "Shedim." They dwelt especially in desolate spots and ruined houses, and their special time of appearance was in the night, for when the cock crew their power to harm was over. Their number was almost infinite, and they could assume any form. They lurked all around men in everything. They were especially dangerous in their menace to the sick, to children and to those in sorrow. They banded themselves into legions and lay in wait for men. Almost all diseases were ascribed to their agency, especially blindness, deafness, epilepsy, angina, asthma, leprosy—which were popularly believed to be due to the evil spirit taking possession of the individual. This idea we find very prominent in the New Testament, and many of Jesus' cures were of the so-called "demoniacs."

Magic and Superstitions.

And so there was resort to exorcism whose basic idea was that to drive out the evil spirit one must use the name of a greater one than the evil spirit. So, for example, Josephus narrates the work of an exorcist which he had wit-

nessed, that depended on the repetition of the name of Solomon. Such a cure is also narrated in the New Testament by the use of the name of Jesus (Acts 3:6). Formulæ of a cryptic nature, based on names and numbers and letters, were often used. Such formulæ and incantations were often used to ward off evil spirits. Thus it was dangerous to drink water in the night for its demon Shabiri lurks in the water, and to drink it would make one blind. But the danger can be averted if one strikes the lid of the water-jar and then says, "Thou N. son of N. thy mother hath warned thee, and said, Guard thyself from the *Shabiri, beriri, riri, iri, ri.*" In the dropping of a syllable at each repetition of the name lay a potent spell to drive the demon away. Or to guard against boils, this was the formula, which formed a sing-song rhythm —"Baz, Bazijah, Mas, Masijah, Kas, Kasijah, Sharlai, and Amarlai—ye angels that come from the land of Sodom—let not this evil enter my body." Weird potions and strange concoctions were also used externally and internally as preventives of demoniac agencies. Amulets were worn, often containing some written verse of Scripture. Indeed certain passages of the Scripture were considered the most potent of all charms.

Such in brief were the concepts of the Jew of this period as he looked beyond the present into the future and from the temporal and ma-

terial into the eternal and unseen. With all its superstition, vagaries, speculations and phantasies, the general effect was to create in the Jewish people a new hope and a larger faith. Legalism could not satisfy the heart. With all its fine discipline and the strong and stable character it produced, humanity wants something beyond rules and formulas and laws and precepts. And so the soul of Judaism, longing for the eternal and unseen, found in those apocalyptic ideas of the Divine cosmic plan with its triumph of Good over Evil, of the blessed lot of the righteous, of the translation from the evil of the now to the joys of the hereafter, —an enthusiasm, a courage and a power that kept Israel comforted in the long dark days before the coming of the Christ. The visions of Enoch and the rhapsodies of Esdras lifted men up out of despair into faith and hope, as they read such words as these: "And all the righteous shall be gathered together in that great age to come, and they will live eternally, and then too there will be among them neither labor, nor sickness, nor humiliation nor anxiety, nor need nor violence, nor night nor darkness, but a great light. And they shall dwell behind a great indestructible wall in a paradise bright and incorruptible and that shall be eternal" (II Enoch 45).

CHAPTER IX

THE HOPE OF THE CENTURIES

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I. Messianic Prophecy in the Old Testament

ONE of the most unique and striking elements of the Hebrew religion, a mighty dynamic in the life of Israel even to the present hour, was the hope of the coming of One called Messiah. It has burned on the altar of prayer through all the centuries and its light has been undimmed by seemingly endless years of disappointment. Indeed it has seemed to burn brightest in the long, dark night of suffering and trial.

Coming as Christians to our Old Testament we have conceived that the Jesus Christ of history in whom we believe was clearly seen and circumstantially prophesied in the Hebrew Scriptures. And to this concept we have been naturally led by the practice of the New Testament writers of finding detailed references to the events and elements of Jesus' life and teaching in Old Testament passages which pointed forward clearly to Him. This New Testament practice may, however, have been

derived from the Rabbis, who in their writings found as many as 558 definite predictions of the Messiah in the Old Testament. But as a matter of fact the passages that may with any certainty be thus used are comparatively few. The prophecies of Amos, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Joel and Daniel contain no reference whatever to a personal Messiah. The reason lies in the strange fact that to the Hebrew mind the *nation* was all in all. So the pre-exilic era Hebrew literature is full of the predictions of a coming kingdom of God; but a kingdom in which the nation itself is the focus of the hope of the future. It was to be ushered in by a national judgment, which would punish sinners in the nation and discipline the godly; after which the nation would be restored to the glory of David's day, while her enemies should be vanquished. This kingdom was to be established here on earth and be centralized at Jerusalem. In this there is no trace of any unique personality that was to come.

But as time went on the promise made to David led Hebrew prophets and seers to predict a new king of David's line who should sit on the throne of this coming kingdom. And as kings, according to Hebrew custom, were given divine approval by an anointing with oil, the king came to be peculiarly "The Lord's Anointed," and from the Hebrew word "anoint," "Mashiach" came the word "Messiah," which

in the Greek translation became "Christos" or "Christ." With the exile and the fall of the Hebrew commonwealth this hope of the coming of a Kingdom and a new Davidic king was intensified, and so in this period with its great prophets—Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and II Isaiah emerges clearly the focussing of the purely corporate hope of earlier days in an individual king and deliverer ("Messiah"); and with this also the idealizing of the kingdom from an actual political rule at Jerusalem to one set up on a world scale, to bring with it a transformed earth as its setting.

II. Messianic Prophecy Between the Testaments

We come now to the Period of the Connections. Inheriting this Messianic idea from the Old Testament era it changed and transformed it in many ways.

The extra-canonical literature of the second century B. C.—I Enoch, Jubilees, Testaments of XII Patriarchs, I and II Maccabees—reveals clearly that in this darkest hour of Judaism, marked by the Syrian oppression, was developed the idea of the cataclysmic and supernatural nature of the coming kingdom of God (I Enoch) and the vindication of "the righteous," i. e., Israel (Test. XII Patriarchs). Moreover, the hopes now centered in the Mac-

cabean kings as fulfilling the prophecy of this divinely chosen ruler of this kingdom of God. So Messiah's descent is traced back not to David but to Levi, since the Maccabees were descended from Levi (Test. XII Patriarchs). So in honor of Simon, a Messianic psalm was composed (I Macc. 14). And even in our Bible we find a trace of this idea in Psalm 110, whose first four verses form in Hebrew an acrostic on Simon's name. And to John Hyrcanus were dedicated two other Messianic hymns: Testament of Levi 18, Testament of Judah 24.

The literature of the first pre-Christian century shows that a radical change in Messianism took place. The base character of the later Maccabean rulers made it impossible to conceive of them any longer in Messianic terms; so the older Davidic king, idealized and exalted, appears in the Psalms of Solomon. But one heritage from this temporary identification of Messiah with the Maccabean priest-kings remains,—a warlike character. He is here represented as a militant Messiah, a Man of War, the deliverer and avenger of Israel, in a passage previously quoted:

"Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their
King, the son of David,
At the time in the which Thou seest, O God,
that he may reign over Israel Thy servant,
And gird him with strength that he may shatter unrighteous rulers,

And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample her down to destruction."

The Messiah was still more supernaturalized and glorified as the increasingly transcendent idea of God developed in this century, and we find in Enoch (37–71) the unique and remarkable picture of one called "The Son of Man." This phrase appears, it is true, in the Book of Daniel (chap. 7), but is there used with the prefix "a" not "the," and stood for the righteous Israel rather than an individual. It was undoubtedly from this source that the New Testament designation was derived (Matt. 19:28). Here also in this book he is called *for the first time "The Christ"* (48:10) and is declared to be pre-existent, dwelling in majesty, possessing universal dominion, the judge of the final judgment, and the one who should usher in the eternal kingdom.

"And there I saw one who had a head of days
And his head was white like wool,
And with him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man.
And his face was full of graciousness like one of the holy angels."

"And he answered and said unto me:
This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness.

And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden:
Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,
And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever."

"On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory,
And shall try their works,
And their places of rest shall be innumerable."

"And at that hour the Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the head of Days."

"And he sat on the throne of his glory,
And the sum of judgment was given unto the Son of Man,
And he caused the sinners to pass away from off the face of the earth,
And those who have led the world astray."
(I Enoch, 45, 46, 48, 69.)

With this change in the idea of Messiah came also a transformation in the idea of His kingdom, which became conceived as a temporary kingdom on earth (which was prolonged to 1,000 years, and thence came the idea of the millennium) to be followed by heaven itself as the final abode of the righteous and an eternal punishment for the wicked. This, of course, necessitated the deferring of the judgment till the end of the Messianic era.

That the writers of the New Testament were profoundly influenced by the earlier Messianic ideas which found expression in our Old Testament is a familiar fact, for there is constant reference in the gospels (and especially the first gospel) to the words and acts of Jesus as fulfillments of its predictions. But no less influential was the literature of the Period of the Connections, with its later ideas of Messiah and His Kingdom which we have just traced. The Book of Revelation is deeply indebted for its phraseology to these books and its language is strikingly similar to that of I Enoch, Testimony of XII Patriarchs, II Esdras, and Jubilees, as these few quotations amply reveal:

"There was gathered together from the four ends of heaven an innumerable multitude to make war against the man that came up out of the sea."

(II Esdras 7:26 = Rev. 21:23.)

"Neither noon nor night, nor brightness nor lights save only the splendor of the brightness of the Most High."

(II Esdras 7:26 = Rev. 21:23.)

"And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life."

(Testament of Levi 18:11 = Rev. 2:7.)

"He shall be blotted out of the book—and shall not be recorded in the book of life."

(Jubilees 36:10 = Rev. 14:10.)

"His head white and pure as wool
And His raiment indescribable
And I fell on my face
And my spirit was transfigured."
(Enoch 71:10 = Rev. 1:13–14.)

"After that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, a multitude beyond reckoning who stood before the Lord of Spirits."
(I Enoch 40:1 = Rev. 5:11.)

"And the first heaven shall depart and pass away
And a new heaven shall appear."
(Enoch 91:16 = Rev. 21:7.)

And most surprising of all are the parallels between the language of these books and that used by Jesus in the so-called "eschatological discourses" or predictions of the "last things" in the latter part of the synoptic gospels. Compare with his words the phraseology of II Esdras and Assumption of Moses:

"Woe unto them that shall survive in those days."
(II Esdras 13:16 = Matt. 24:9–12.)

"And I beheld and lo, this Man flew with the clouds of heaven."
(II Esdras 13:3 = Matt. 24:30.)

"There shall be seen in the world earthquakes, disquietude of peoples, devices of nations, signs."
(II Esdras 9:3 = Matt. 24:7.)

"And the horns of the sun shall be broken and turned into darkness,

And the moon shall not give light but be turned into
blood,
And the circle of the stars shall be disturbed."
(Assumption of Moses 10:4 = Mark 13:24–25.)

And the language of the dramatic Judgment Scene depicted by Jesus finds its parallels in I Enoch, II Enoch and Testaments of XII Patriarchs:

"On that day my Elect one shall sit on the throne of glory and shall try their works."
(I Enoch 45:3 = Matt. 25:31.)

"I was beset with hunger and the Lord nourished me
I was alone and God comforted me
I was sick and the Lord visited me
I was in prison and God showed fair unto me
In bonds and he released me."
(Testament of Joseph 1:5–6 = Matt. 25:35–36.)

"'This place" (Paradise) is prepared for the righteous—who give bread to the hungry and cover the naked with clothing and raise up the fallen and helpless orphans."
(II Enoch 9:1 = Matt. 25:35.)

"This place (Gehenna) is prepared for those who dishonor God—who being able to satisfy the empty made the hungry to die, who being able to clothe stripped the naked."
(II Enoch 10:4 = Matt. 25:42.)

And most striking is the parallelism in this phrase:

"In the great time to come are many mansions prepared for man."

(II Enoch 61:2 = John 14:2.)

III. Popular Hopes of the Messiah

Such in Christ's day, briefly stated in their main outlines, were the varying Messianic ideas which developed in Israel. Conceived under varying circumstances and from different standpoints they differ widely in their representations of the character of the Messianic kingdom and of the Messiah. But there was one common denominator—the passionate and increasing hope of salvation for the Jew from his oppressor. For the perennial problem of the Jews, from the Exile onward, was that of their national sufferings. Why should they suffer, and how long would the suffering continue? Such a vital and burning question naturally made the occasional spiritual elements in the picture of the Messiah as painted by such seers as the author of Isaiah 53 overlooked or forgotten. So far as we may judge, those beautiful Old Testament prophecies in which even the most critical scholarship agrees that we find a real prediction of Jesus, the Savior of mankind, had little or no influence on the pre-Christian Hebrew mind. "The Jew of that period did not long for deliverance from sin but from suffering." And the passion of that longing finds expression in such a passage as this:

"All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou hast said that for our sakes thou madest this world. As for the other nations, which also came from Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, and are like unto spittle: and thou hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop that falleth from a vessel. And now, O Lord, behold, these nations, which are reputed as nothing, be lords over us, and devour us. But we thy people, whom thou hast called thy firstborn, thy only begotten, and thy fervent lover, are given into their hands. If the world now be made for our sakes, why do we not possess for an inheritance our world? How long shall it endure?"

(II Esdras 6:55–59.)

When Rome took possession of Palestine and delegated her authority as viceregent to Herod the Great, the Jews seem to have felt both a despair and resentment of foreign rule more intense than in all their preceding history. Herod's imperial ambition, aping the Cæsars in the magnificence and splendor of the palaces, amphitheatres and temples to heathen gods whose ruins are found all over Palestine; his introduction of Græco-Roman culture which was eagerly abetted by that Jewish group of sycophants and courtiers, the Herodians, brought the power of Rome and the culture of Greece appallingly close to the people of Palestine. The religious conservation of Judaism and the patriotic fervor of the masses aided by the persistent propaganda of the Pharisees made a continual

ferment of rebellion that found open expression in the Zealots and their daring deeds of protest put down by Herod with a brutal hand. (To illustrate: Herod caused a large golden Roman eagle to be set up over the principal gate of the temple as a symbol of Rome's supremacy. Anger and resentment seethed in Jewish hearts and at last some bold young patriots pulled it down and cut it to pieces. Herod's Roman legionaries caught and dragged these Jewish rebels before Herod, who ordered them burned alive.)

But back of all these surface symptoms lay a sordid background of economic as well as political oppression. For Rome depended not on her garrisons for holding her conquered territories, but on a commercial and political alliance with the rulers of these territories. So here, as elsewhere, Rome entered into a pact with the rulers—the priests and Sadducees. In return for prompt payment of taxes (which were farmed out to extortionate and unscrupulous "publicani" or tax collectors) Rome offered these financial "powers that be" stability of the "status quo" and continued increase of wealth under the ægis of her protection. Under this rule of the iron hand of Rome, abetted by their own venal rulers, the Jewish people in Jesus' day felt a hatred against Rome all the more bitter because it was so futile.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the longing for deliverance became even

more intense and focussed in the Deliverer—the Messiah. It finds expression during the time of Rome's first invasion of Palestine under Pompey (63–48 B. C.) in the Psalms of Solomon:

"Behold O Lord and raise up to them their king, the son of David,
At the time in which thou seest, O Lord, that he may reign over Israel thy servant.
And gird him with strength that he may shatter unrighteous rulers.
And that he may purge Jerusalem from the nations that trample her down to destruction
With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance,
And shall destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth."

As Roman rule became more despotic and ruthless, their despair as they writhed under the oppressor's heel found voice in this passage in II Baruch, written in Jesus' day:

"The youth of the world is past
And the strength of the creation already exhausted
And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
And the ship to its port,
And the course of the journey to the city,
And life to its consummation."

But the more constant mood was one of fiery hatred of the oppressor and a passionate hope for the coming of Messiah as an avenger of

Israel's wrongs and her deliverer from her enemy. All the thoughts and hopes of Judaism as deliverance was deferred and the oppression still continued, focussed in this great Warrior-King, this "Man on Horseback" who should come and overthrow the oppressor and set up again the long-lost Splendors of the Davidic reign. And thus, commingled of religious fervor and patriotic passion, this idea of the coming Messiah was the popular conception in that era into which Jesus came.

IV. Jesus and the Messianic Kingdom

So it is obvious that in his teaching of the Messiah and his kingdom, Jesus was not creating any new idea. Rather did he seek to bring back into the materialistic and nationalistic idea of his time, some of the forgotten spiritual concepts of the prophets and apocalyptists. He took the popular view of the Messianic kingdom and transformed it utterly and set it up anew.

"The people expected the Kingdom to be set up by force, either human or celestial; Jesus repudiated the use of force. They regarded the Kingdom as the prerogative of a select group: he insisted on sharing its rights with all, and turned it from a Jewish into a broadly human ideal. They connected it with the hope of self-aggrandizement, which they had learned from human despotisms; he democratized the idea of the Kingdom and put all who sought it under the law of

service. They connected it with ceremonial and ecclesiastical religion; he set it within the domain of secular and ethical relations. To many of them the material benefits were the main thing and ethical conformity was the price to be paid; to Jesus fullness of ethical and religious life for all was the real end and substance of the hope. They expected it by catastrophe; he worked toward the law of gradual growth."*

Such an utterly different Kingdom as Jesus preached could not fail to come into conflict with the popular ideas of the Messiah's reign. And it was the collision of his spiritual kingdom with the material and political kingdom of Pharisees and people that brought Jesus to the cross. He rejected the crown of a temporal Messiah and the Judaism of his day placed on his head a crown of thorns.

Yet before we condemn too harshly the blindness of his generation and even of his own disciples to the kingdom of peace and love that Jesus revealed, let us ponder the fact that Christendom for nineteen centuries forgot Jesus' idea of the kingdom so utterly that even the word disappeared from its hymns and its theology, and set up in its place a Church which has all too often been as crassly unspiritual in its outlook as was Jesus' own generation. It still cherishes

*Rauschenbusch, "Christianizing the Social Order," p. 66.

the idea that statistics and mass movements and organization and conventions are the true measure of values. And our so-called Christian civilization with its mammonism, militarism and materialism is a far cry from that kingdom of universal Divine fatherhood and human brotherhood that Jesus preached and for which he died. We are no more willing than Jesus' own generation to accept the kingdom of God as Jesus taught it; whose symbol is not the crown but the cross.

Truly does Wells say:

"Jesus was too great for his disciples. In the white blaze of that kingdom of his was no place for property, privilege, pride or precedence, no motive and no reward but love. Is it any wonder that his disciples cried out when he would not spare them that light? . . . For to take him seriously was to abandon old habits and traditional instincts and impulses, to enter upon a strange new life, to essay an incredible happiness. . . . Is it any wonder that to this day this Galilean is too great for our small hearts?"

So the hope of the centuries of sorrow and oppression in Judaism, voiced by prophet and apocalyptist, focussed in the Messiah, but when he came in the fulness of time "his own received him not." Nor has Christendom as yet really accepted the Eternal Christ with his Kingdom of Love, and he still remains the Hope of the Centuries that are to be.

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